

I have lately been accused of some inconsistency in my parliamentary conduct, and have been charged with giving my support to his Majesty's Ministers; but, *if they had no warmer supporters than I am, they would not have much reason to trust to their friends.* I despise the Ministers so much, that, if I had no other motive in coming forward to declare my sentiment on the subject of French invasion, I should have called upon the people to arm, lest the French, if they conquered the country, should take revenge on it, by investing to continue the present Ministers in power, as an Executive Directory of England." — Mr. Sheridan's Speech at the Whig-Club.

[61]

## VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.

The excellent speech of Mr. WHITBREAD, delivered in the House of Commons, on the 8th instant, upon the motion of Mr. SECRETARY YORKE for leave to bring in a bill to consolidate the Volunteer Laws, is so well calculated to produce great and extensive good effect, that it has been thought proper to insert the following accurate report of it, in the Register, without loss of time. Mr. Whitbread is himself the commander of a Volunteer Corps; he appears to have been a careful observer of the nature and effects of the system, and the result of his observations, conveyed with great force and perspicuity, cannot fail to be generally interesting and useful, while it may also serve as an answer to those virulent calumnies, which ministerial writers are daily pouring forth against all those, who take the liberty to dissent from their employers.

Sir; if it had not been for the allusion made by my hon. friend (Mr. Sheridan) I should not, perhaps, have said any thing at present upon the subject now before the House, but I think it necessary to say a few words on the subject of the different corps choosing their own officers, as stated by the noble lord and the right hon. gent., particularly on that which has been stated by the right hon. gent., who has informed the House of the advice he should give to his Majesty, in the event of any military corps persisting in the choice of its own officers. And, Sir, I am the more desirous of advert- ing to the sentiments of the right hon. gent. as they came from himself, than to the explanation of the noble lord. The right hon. gent. has said, that if any corps should persist in the right of recommending to his Majesty its officers to command them, that he should

[62]

advise his Majesty to dismiss that corps; that he should advise his Majesty, in the first instance, not to listen to such recommendation; and, in the second, to dismiss such corps if they should persist in such recommendation. This, Sir, I apprehend, is much too general. The terms of the corps which I have the honour to command were, that they should serve under officers specifically named by themselves; not only so, but also such as they may recommend hereafter to his Majesty, through the medium of the lord lieutenant of the county. Their services were accepted after they sent in these terms, nor were the terms in the least degree qualified when the service of this corps was accepted. If they had been told that they should not have this choice or recommendation, not only of their present commander but also of their other officers, or that they should not be allowed to continue to have that recommendation, I really apprehend, Sir, that no such corps would have been formed at all. Now I should like to ask the right hon. gent., whether he would think himself consistent if he attempted to take away from that corps the right of recommendation at all? As to the distinction between election and recommendation, I can hardly perceive it: they are in substance the same; for neither means any more, than to submit to the lord lieutenant the propriety of his transmitting to the Secretary of State, the names of the persons whom they wished to be commanded by; but, of course, the crown, acting on the advice of its ministers, would have the right of judging whether such persons were fit to be commanders or not. Upon this subject there can be no doubt. Now, in the corps to which I have the honour to belong, the terms of their services are such, that if any vacancy were to happen for an officer, I should apply to the corps to say who they would wish to fill it: undoubtedly I should feel myself bound to do so. Why, then, what is this but an election? And where is the evil of all this? The lord lieutenant has a right to say, I will not forward this recommendation to the Se-



cretary of State, for I do not think the person recommended is fit for the office, or if the lord lieutenant should forward it, the Secretary of State may say that it shall not take place, and advise his Majesty to that effect; then it will come back again to chuse another, and they must go on with their recommendations until they have hit upon somebody to whom neither the lord lieutenant nor the Secretary of State has any objection; so that no one can ever have a commission in any volunteer corps, without the approbation of the crown; and this is in itself, as it appears to me, desirable, for the men ought to know the character of the person under whom they are to serve. But the right hon. gent. adverted to volunteer corps under establishments, like those of the last war, or if not those of the last war, of establishments different from those under which the present volunteer corps were formed. They have hitherto, all enjoyed the power if not of electing, of recommending their officers: now I wish to know, whether this power was given to the volunteer corps by law, or by connivance of the crown? If by law, it must belong to them generally; if by connivance, I should like to ask the right hon. gent. whether he has found any mischief in the practice? If he has not, why should he now attempt to exclude the volunteers from that which they have hitherto enjoyed without any inconvenience to the public, and take from them that, for which they have much value, and without which, as I apprehend, not only would the volunteers become less numerous, but also less efficient, according to their number, than they now are. Where, I should like to ask, is the difference between the first choice and the second? In the first instance, the lot falls upon those generally who are the most known, who are the most remarkable for talents, or for some qualities or other that distinguish them, either for high station, or something that gives them a preference to others, and for which there are, generally, very good reasons for recommending them to his Majesty; and, is it reasonable to suppose, that the same motives which actuate the corps in the first instance, will not also influence them in the second, and that they will not continue to fill up vacancies, as they may happen in their corps, with the same propriety as they made the first choice? I do contend, that if the right hon. gent. acts up to the spirit of what he has said to-night, he will find himself in an error, which will be fatal to the whole volunteering system of this country. This, Sir, is my firm opinion, and I think it my duty to say so at once, and to

entreat ministers to be cautious in what they do upon this occasion. For my own part, had I offered my services as a private in any volunteer corps, I own I should be very unwilling to serve under any officer appointed by the Crown to command me without my own consent.—The right hon. gent. has gone through the whole history of the volunteer service, in which I shall not follow the right hon. gent., but merely make a few observations on some points in the speech of the right hon. gent. to the House previous to his motion.—He says, that ministers, finding they had no friends on the continent, it became us to look at home; and make the most of our internal strength, since we were at war. This system of volunteer service was resorted to, because we found ourselves at war without a friend on the continent to assist us.—I should have thought it would have become ministers to look about them and to see, whether we should have any friend on the continent to assist us, before we entered into war; this would have been the course pursued by a wise politician; but our sagacious ministers thought proper to adopt a contrary system, they got first into the war, and afterwards inquired how it could be supported; they then adopted the system of a volunteer service. Now, I am ready to confess, that the system of volunteer service is not the best, either for economy, or for the purpose of making military efforts such as might have been made under a different system of policy, and at the same time bringing forth all the energy of the people of England. But while I say this, I trust that neither the right hon. gent., or any other, will endeavour to bring upon me the odium of a desire “to raise a clamour” against the volunteer system. Nothing would be more unjust than such an imputation; for there is not, I believe, a man in the country, who has exerted himself more than I have done, in support of the volunteer system, when I found it was to be resorted to, as the only means of our general defence; but I am still of opinion, that it is not the best system that could have been resorted to, for the general defence of the country in time of need. And here, Sir, I cannot help accusing ministers of wavering from day to day, in their system? proving thereby, that they had got into a path in which they had met with great difficulties and perplexities, and out of which, I am afraid they are not yet extricated. They first attempted to produce a General Defence Act, out of which arose the volunteer system all over the country. At that time they found, that 450,000 men had inrolled their names for the service

of their country. Here I must beg to be understood, as not, in the slightest degree, wishing to depreciate those men, on the contrary, no one has a higher opinion of the goodness of their motives and principles, in thus rushing forward in defence of their country; but yet I cannot help thinking, that it is of essential importance to look back upon this matter, to examine into the question of what we had really to trust to, in this mass of 450,000 men; to see what was this great body, who are now the grand mass of the army of England. I am persuaded, that a great portion of this mass is such as could not be depended upon for effective strength. They were too indiscriminately accepted by government; persons of all ages and of all descriptions, without regard to infirmity or any unfitness, among whom were many who were not able to march, were received as volunteers. There certainly was a great enthusiasm, and all descriptions rushed forward as volunteers; this, undoubtedly, did honour to the zeal of the country, but it must not be disguised at the same time, that, among those who came forward, there were many who were quite incompetent to the carrying of arms: in some instances not above one-half of a whole district were actually fit for effective service. Then came the order of government to reduce their number to that of six times the amount of the militia. This sudden measure had a serious and alarming effect; it damped the ardour of the country so much, that it became a matter of considerable difficulty to bring men back again, and to persuade them to enrol their names when they found that their friends, with whom they had associated, were not to be allowed to go with them into the field. Now, after all this, and time being given us by the enemy, for he did not appear on our coast, although we all expected him, an explanation came forth from the ministers, the spirit of the people revived, and appeared again in its wonted lustre. Now, what was the intention of ministers at that time? Did they or did they not then intend to exempt the volunteers from the army of reserve? No, they did not; and so I informed the volunteers then raising, and which I have now the honour to command; and, to their immortal honour, every man entered as a volunteer, although he thought he would have been liable to the service of the army of reserve. I told them all, that there was not one of them who would have any exemptions by entering as a volunteer, yet every one of them entered, notwithstanding this apprehension. But what was the effect of this: they were afterwards exempted both

from the militia and the army of reserve. And what was the further effect? Why, that neither the militia nor army of reserve could ever be properly filled up; it was utterly impossible that they should, for all the best men are serving already in the volunteers, as well as some of the most unfit; and I know it to be a fact, that there are not men who could be drawn to serve in the militia to the number intended to be raised of that body; the same may also be said with regard to the army of reserve. How then is the recruiting of the army to go on? I have no difficulty in saying, that, in the present state of things, it is impossible. Those who would have constituted the army of reserve and militia, are now filling up the ranks of the volunteers. Such being the effect of the volunteer system; and so, the best course now to be taken is, that to make the volunteer system as beneficial, and at the same time as palatable to the public as possible, and to bring them to as a good a state of discipline as is applicable to a force of that nature. Ministers then had recourse to the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General, in order to get over another difficulty which they felt themselves under, and these learned gentlemen gave it as their opinion, that the volunteers were exempted from the army of reserve; after which came the question whether a volunteer could resign or not? Sir, it always was my opinion, that a volunteer could resign whenever he pleased, and return his arms, if he had any (it was a long time before they could get any) but while a man remained in the corps there were means of rendering him liable to pay fines for his non-attendance, and which fines were levied upon his goods if he had any. But here again the law stopt short, for if he had no goods, there was no way of imposing any other penalty on the volunteer, so that a man might walk out of the service when he pleased. But the right hon. gent. has, to my great surprise and joy declared, that if the Court of King's Bench had not decided the law to be that a volunteer could resign as it has done, he should have proposed to make the law so: now, I must confess that this struck me extremely, for it is to be remembered, that the right hon. gent. sent to all the lieutenants of the counties, who, in their turn again sent to all the magistrates, as the exposition of the law, the opinion of the two law officers of the crown, the Attorney and Solicitor General, and upon the strength of this, magistrates had acted all over the country, which opinion was, that a volunteer could not resign, and which opinion turned out not to be law. Without intending the least dis-



cretary of State, for I do not think the person recommended is fit for the office, or if the lord lieutenant should forward it, the Secretary of State may say that it shall not take place, and advise his Majesty to that effect; then it will come back again to chuse another, and they must go on with their recommendations until they have hit upon somebody to whom neither the lord lieutenant nor the Secretary of State has any objection; so that no one can ever have a commission in any volunteer corps, without the approbation of the crown; and this is in itself, as it appears to me, desirable, for the men ought to know the character of the person under whom they are to serve. But the right hon. gent. adverted to volunteer corps under establishments, like those of the last war, or if not those of the last war, of establishments different from those under which the present volunteer corps were formed. They have hitherto, all enjoyed the power if not of electing, of recommending their officers: now I wish to know, whether this power was given to the volunteer corps by law, or by connivance of the crown? If by law, it must belong to them generally; if by connivance, I should like to ask the right hon. gent. whether he has found any mischief in the practice? If he has not, why should he now attempt to exclude the volunteers from that which they have hitherto enjoyed without any inconvenience to the public, and take from them that, for which they have much value, and without which, as I apprehend, not only would the volunteers become less numerous, but also less efficient, according to their number, than they now are. Where, I should like to ask, is the difference between the first choice and the second? In the first instance, the lot falls upon those generally who are the most known, who are the most remarkable for talents, or for some qualities or other that distinguish them, either for high station, or something that gives them a preference to others, and for which there are, generally, very good reasons for recommending them to his Majesty; and, is it reasonable to suppose, that the same motives which actuate the corps in the first instance, will not also influence them in the second, and that they will not continue to fill up vacancies, as they may happen in their corps, with the same propriety as they made the first choice? I do contend, that if the right hon. gent. acts up to the spirit of what he has said to-night, he will find himself in an error, which will be fatal to the whole volunteering system of this country. This, Sir, is my firm opinion, and I think it my duty to say so at once, and to

entreat ministers to be cautious in what they do upon this occasion. For my own part, had I offered my services as a private in any volunteer corps, I own I should be very unwilling to serve under any officer appointed by the Crown to command me without my own consent.—The right hon. gent. has gone through the whole history of the volunteer service, in which I shall not follow the right hon. gent., but merely make a few observations on some points in the speech of the right hon. gent. to the House previous to his motion.—He says, that ministers, finding they had no friends on the continent, it became us to look at home; and make the most of our internal strength, since we were at war. This system of volunteer service was resorted to, because we found ourselves at war without a friend on the continent to assist us.—I should have thought it would have become ministers to look about them and to see, whether we should have any friend on the continent to assist us, before we entered into war; this would have been the course pursued by a wise politician; but our sagacious ministers thought proper to adopt a contrary system, they got first into the war, and afterwards inquired how it could be supported; they then adopted the system of a volunteer service. Now, I am ready to confess, that the system of volunteer service is not the best, either for economy, or for the purpose of making military efforts, such as might have been made under a different system of policy, and at the same time bringing forth all the energy of the people of England. But while I say this, I trust that neither the right hon. gent., or any other, will endeavour to bring upon me the odium of a desire “to raise a clamour” against the volunteer system. Nothing would be more unjust than such an imputation; for there is not, I believe, a man in the country, who has exerted himself more than I have done, in support of the volunteer system, when I found it was to be resorted to, as the only means of our general defence; but I am still of opinion, that it is not the best system that could have been resorted to, for the general defence of the country in time of need. And here, Sir, I cannot help accusing ministers of wavering from day to day, in their system? proving thereby, that they had got into a path in which they had met with great difficulties and perplexities, and out of which, I am afraid they are not yet extricated. They first attempted to produce a General Defence Act, out of which arose the volunteer system all over the country. At that time they found, that 450,000 men had inrolled their names for the service



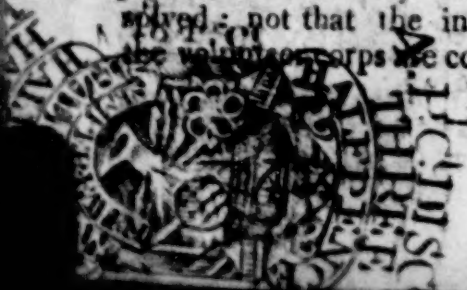
of their country. Here I must beg to be understood, as not, in the slightest degree, wishing to depreciate those men, on the contrary, no one has a higher opinion of the goodness of their motives and principles, in thus rushing forward in defence of their country; but yet I cannot help thinking, that it is of essential importance to look back upon this matter, to examine into the question of what we had really to trust to, in this mass of 450,000 men; to see what was this great body, who are now the grand mass of the army of England. I am persuaded, that a great portion of this mass is such as could not be depended upon for effective strength. They were too indiscriminately accepted by government; persons of all ages and of all descriptions, without regard to infirmity or any unfitness, among whom were many who were not able to march, were received as volunteers. There certainly was a great enthusiasm, and all descriptions rushed forward as volunteers; this, undoubtedly, did honour to the zeal of the country, but it must not be disguised at the same time, that, among those who came forward, there were many who were quite incompetent to the carrying of arms: in some instances not above one-half of a whole district were actually fit for effective service. Then came the order of government to reduce their number to that of six times the amount of the militia. This sudden measure had a serious and alarming effect; it damped the ardour of the country so much, that it became a matter of considerable difficulty to bring men back again, and to persuade them to enrol their names when they found that their friends, with whom they had associated, were not to be allowed to go with them into the field. Now, after all this, and time being given us by the enemy, for he did not appear on our coast, although we all expected him, an explanation came forth from the ministers, the spirit of the people revived, and appeared again in its wonted lustre. Now, what was the intention of ministers at that time? Did they or did they not then intend to exempt the volunteers from the army of reserve? No, they did not; and so I informed the volunteers then raising, and which I have now the honour to command; and, to their immortal honour, every man entered as a volunteer, although he thought he would have been liable to the service of the army of reserve. I told them all, that there was not one of them who would have any exemptions by entering as a volunteer, yet every one of them entered, notwithstanding that apprehension. But what was the effect of this: they were afterwards exempted both

from the militia and the army of reserve. And what was the further effect? Why, that neither the militia nor army of reserve could ever be properly filled up; it was utterly impossible that they should, for all the best men are serving already in the volunteers, as well as some of the most unfit; and I know it to be a fact, that there are not men who could be drawn to serve in the militia to the number intended to be raised of that body; the same may also be said with regard to the army of reserve. How then is the recruiting of the army to go on? I have no difficulty in saying, that, in the present state of things, it is impossible. Those who would have constituted the army of reserve and militia, are now filling up the ranks of the volunteers. Such being the effect of the volunteer system; and so, the best course now to be taken is, that to make the volunteer system as beneficial, and at the same time as palatable to the public as possible, and to bring them to as a good a state of discipline as is applicable to a force of that nature. Ministers then had recourse to the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General, in order to get over another difficulty which they felt themselves under, and these learned gentlemen gave it as their opinion, that the volunteers were exempted from the army of reserve; after which came the question whether a volunteer could resign or not? Sir, it always was my opinion, that a volunteer could resign whenever he pleased, and return his arms, if he had any (it was a long time before they could get any) but while a man remained in the corps there were means of rendering him liable to pay fines for his non-attendance, and which fines were levied upon his goods if he had any. But here again the law stopt short, for if he had no goods, there was no way of imposing any other penalty on the volunteer, so that a man might walk out of the service when he pleased. But the right hon. gent. has, to my great surprise and joy declared, that if the Court of King's Bench had not decided the law to be that a volunteer could resign as it has done, he should have proposed to make the law so: now, I must confess that this struck me extremely, for it is to be remembered, that the right hon. gent. sent to all the lieutenants of the counties, who, in their turn again sent to all the magistrates, as the exposition of the law, the opinion of the two law officers of the crown, the Attorney and Solicitor General, and upon the strength of this, magistrates had acted all over the country, which opinion was, that a volunteer could not resign, and which opinion turned out not to be law. Without intending the least dis-



respect for the two learned gentlemen who gave their opinion, this erroneous opinion, for so I am now bound to call it, since a court of law has pronounced it to be so, and without intending any thing disrespectful of that opinion, I must be allowed to say, that it was an opinion which led the magistrates into error, for they acted upon that opinion as if it was a sound exposition of the law of the land.—Sorry should I have been, to have found that this opinion was consonant to the law of the land; but I was very much surprized, though greatly rejoiced, at what I heard from the right hon. gent. to night upon that subject, and I think that the public at large have a right to complain of the right hon. gent. for finding this opinion given by these learned gentlemen, which now appears not to be law to be, namely, that a volunteer could not resign. The right hon. gent. caused it to be most industriously circulated and published all over the country, by which the public have for a while been misled, and this step was the more remarkable, since it was an opinion promulgating that as law which the right hon. gent. has this night told us, he did not wish to continue to be the law, for he has expressly declared, that if the law had been found to be so, he should have proposed to alter it, and to make it what it now is. Having said thus much, I must add, that I feel extremely anxious that justice should be done to the volunteers in every particular. With regard to that part of the volunteer system which is called the economical part of it, they are greatly mistaken who conceive it to be so to the public. Who are the public? The individuals of whom it is composed. Now it is a gross mistake to suppose, that a system by which no money is taken out of the public purse in form, does not really cause a great expense to the public. The expense to the public is the same in whatever way it is defrayed, if it comes out of the pockets of the individuals, of whom the public is composed; for what difference can there be between paying 50l. into a subscription chest to support a volunteer corps, (which subscription, by the way, may ere long become compulsory), and paying a tax to that amount into the exchequer? And, in this respect, I assert that this system is extremely expensive to the public, for, at a very moderate computation, it is upwards of 4l. per man.—Another objection to the system is, that, from their form and condition, the volunteer corps are continually subject to, and in daily danger of, being dissolved: not that the individuals of whom the volunteer corps are composed want spirit,

for if dissolved in one street, I am confident they would enter again in the next; but they are subject every hour to the danger of dissolution. Suppose they were to say, that they did not like their commander, and that they wanted to chuse another, and they were not to be allowed that privilege, and that they should not have the satisfaction even of recommending another officer, as the right hon. gent. has told them they shall not, and they were to say they were no longer volunteers? What, Sir, is the remedy? A very short one, certainly; they must be dismissed. But, if they amounted to 1000 men—this would be a prodigious loss, at least for a while, and this is a matter which I wish to be attended to by his Majesty's ministers.—There is another evil connected with volunteer corps, from whence I am apprehensive they may be dissolved, and that is a want of funds to carry on the system. This is a point which government must look into with great attention, and if they neglect it, I venture to predict, that it will be impossible to carry on this system long. There is no corps of which I have any knowledge, that is not in some degree or other in debt. Many corps have endeavoured to excel others in their dress and ornaments, which I certainly do not blame. It is natural enough when men feel the ardour of a military spirit, but it is attended with an expense that cannot be supported unless the funds of almost every corps in the kingdom are increased—Men must be clothed from head to foot, and after a great coat and the other articles of dress are provided, it will not, on the most moderate computation, as I have said, already, amount to less than 4l. per man, which will be a tremendous sum of money in the whole. Now, Sir, what is the remedy?—A second subscription: but that is a plan which I should strongly deprecate, for the mischief of it would be to collect from the liberal, and perhaps the poor, that to which the illiberal and rich ought also to contribute in a fair proportion. No such thing could take place if the wants of the volunteers were to be supplied from the national treasury. For these reasons, I consider the plan now acted upon for providing the volunteers with necessaries, a very mistaken plan of economy.—There is another point to be attended to: at present, it is the rule to allow no pay to any officer who instructs the men, however well he may do it, or may have had the unqualified praise of the inspecting officer, unless such person shall have been in the army; this is a defect which ought to be remedied, for men cannot be expected to give their time and la-





[69]

our for nothing but mere praise; men in middling circumstances cannot afford it. It is also worth while for ministers to remember, that the pay of these officers is only for 10 days, and now they are to be out 24 days; the additional 4 days ought to be paid for, or we shall find many persons remiss in their duty: I have taken the liberty of pointing out these things. I fear it will be found, that ministers have been getting from one error to another, and that they have now placed the country in a situation in which it has no choice, but must trust its main defence to the volunteer force; it, therefore, behoves them to render that system as little objectionable as possible. In my judgment, the augmentation of the militia has been carried on a little too much; and I am confirmed in this opinion by the conduct of ministers, by the enormous expense which has been occasioned in drawing men from the militia afterwards by bounty into the regular service, and also by the expense of raising the Army of Reserve, and at last being obliged to have recourse to the volunteer system, which is much more expensive than either. It is for the right hon. gentlemen, into whose hands his Majesty has thought proper to entrust the government of this nation at the present important moment, to consider the best means for providing for its general defence and safety: it is for members of Parliament to speak their sentiments upon such means, and to shew the House the imperfection of such means, in order to bring them to the best state they are capable of. This is a liberty which I have taken to myself: it is not for me to point out what is better, it is my duty; as a member of Parliament, to shew to the House, what appears to me to be erroneous in the conduct of ministers, and which they ought now to rectify. I shall only add, that I trust the right hon. gent. will consider of allowing volunteers the practice of recommending their officers to the crown; will consider also of the expense of providing cloathing for the volunteers, and the pay to which I have alluded, and of the difficulty of procuring the attendance of officers who do not receive pay for the additional four days, now about to be proposed, without some allowance. Here, Sir, for the present, I shall leave the subject, recommending the whole of it to the most serious consideration of his Majesty's government.

#### IRISH CATHOLICS.

SIR,—Permit me to request, that you will admit into your paper a remark or two

upon the correspondence between the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and the Earl of Fingall, relative to the Catholics of that unhappy and distracted country.—Sure, there must be some mistake in the publication; for, how could so very accurate and learned a person as the Lord Chancellor, possibly write: “Irish Catholics have liberty of conscience?” When he must very well know, that there are, at present, two striking cases in Ireland, which clearly prove, that the fact is otherwise. At this time the wills of the Earl of Beaulieu and of Lord Dunboyne are in litigation, on account of their being papists, and presuming to make those wills.—This learned lord must likewise very well know, that the children of converts to the protestant religion dare not publicly profess the catholic religion, without incurring the severest penalties, by Queen Anne's Law, and other laws still in force.—His law knowledge will likewise inform him, that, for soldiers or sailors to attend at mass makes them liable to great punishments, although they are, sometimes, allowed to attend mass without undergoing those punishments.—From these and other restrictions, his lordship must certainly mistake, if he says, that “the great portion of the Irish people are indifferent to Catholic emancipation.” They do, Sir, feel for their religion being proscribed; and, indeed, to suppose them not to feel, on this account, is to conclude, that they are most low and insensible brutes, especially when it is considered, that they have before them the example of Scotland, which country, by its union with England, did not only make a full reservation of liberty of conscience, but took care to have the religion of the great body of the people (the presbyterian) made that of the state:—As to the comparison of the Catholics with the Quakers (an inconsiderable sect sprung up but yesterday), I think that the making of it is no great compliment to the memory of our Edwards and Henries, or of those Bishops, who obtained Magna Charta from King John.—I should be happy to see protestants and catholics unite as brethren, and surely this is a time that imperiously calls for such an union.—I am, Sir, &c. &c.

CONCILIATOR.

#### TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—When we look round upon the apparent power which England now displays, and upon the vast resources on which she calculates, it behoves us to reflect how far they are likely to be so directed and applied,



as to become the means of her immediate salvation. When we see, on one side, a navy, which no form or combination of human force can resist; under which the bosom of ocean hardly dares to heave; and whose dominion has no limits but those of nature—when, on the other hand, we see a military body, more numerous, and (physically) more powerful, than that of all our enemies united; still do our wives and daughters tremble! Who excited their fears? Who “talked of killing?” Had they no confidence in their natural protectors? or did they but echo the cry of cowardice, and copy from their fathers and husbands, the pallid character of dismay? Yes! the British lion crouched—the men of England taught their women and children to tremble! I turn with shame, or incredulity, to the illustrious annals of Elizabeth, who, with one-tenth of the force now in the hands of our enterprising ministers, routed the tyrant of both hemispheres, and contributed to wrest from his iron sway, the fairest provinces of Europe. I blush for the lofty magnanimity of William, who, by stemming the torrent of Bourbon ambition, secured the fortunes of his house, and the liberties of Holland, only that we, after the lapse of a century, might become the disgraceful instruments, and the mortified witnesses, of ruin and extinction to both. The triumphs, the glories, of Anne; the discomfiture and humiliation of Lewis—still may rouse the emulous pride of my countrymen; but let them reflect that Godolphin was then in the Cabinet, and Marlborough in the field. When a few thousand British, with the aid of such auxiliaries as Hesse and Hanover afforded, saw four successive armies, the flower of France, sink and moulder in their presence, it yields to me, I own, but a doubtful satisfaction, for it was, then, a *commanding mind* which ordered the array of war—it was the majestic name of Chatham, which gave the auspices of victory. I am a military man, Mr. Cobbett, and it is not quite sufficient to satisfy my fears for the safety of Great-Britain, that I am told her wealth is inexhaustible, nor even that she can exhibit half a million of red coats *on parade*. When ministers talk of the wealth of England, they talk precisely of that thing which most endangers the public safety, unless they can shew us an instance of any nation in the world, finding protection in opulence alone. What has Portugal derived from the mines of diamond, and from the overflowing produce of Brazil? Why, she has deduced maxims of tame and conceding policy; a blind devotion to the pursuits of avarice; habits

emasculate and unwarlike; the natural result of which has been, public decency outraged within the very precincts of her court—her national honour exposed to repeated and most contemptuous insults—a late and pitiful resistance; dismembered provinces; racking contributions; and a disgraceful peace! Spain, too, may vaunt of her dollars, her ducats, and her ingots; her cumbrous magnificence, and her unwieldy empire!—But is *her power* commensurate with that wealth on which she foolishly built her hopes of greatness? No, she has been contemplated only as the banking-house of France; and the successor of the proudest monarchs in Europe, ruling over the descendents of the most warlike of mankind, now sinks under the upstart and relentless tyrant, in mean, and ignominious, and disgusting, servitude. What makes Us envied and hated by all the traders of Europe? Our unbounded commerce! In what consists the inextinguishable guilt of England, when she is spoken of by Frenchmen of all ages, and sentiments, and parties? Why, just her countless riches! By what magic has Buonaparté so worked upon those restless and licentious hordes, who acknowledge in him the master murderer, as to make them hail the approaching deluge of their own blood, upon the shores of Kent and Sussex? Where is the key to their enthusiasm? (for enthusiasts in the project, believe me, we shall find them) Is it territory? Is it fame? Is it the glory of conquering the bravest people on earth? No! It is the solid comfort of plundering the wealthiest: it is the golden dream of the Bank of England, with its heaps of selfish and unfertilizing treasure; it is the stores of manufactured industry, which they conceive it a less doubtful enterprise to rob, than to rival; it is the warehouses of Bristol, of Liverpool, and of London, labouring with the tribute of the whole productive world. A nation, poor and weak, may find protection in its poverty. Not such is England's safeguard; she, who is rich enough to be envied, must be strong enough to be feared. Credit and capital are positively good, only so long as they can create the means of their own preservation; and, in times like the present, they admit of no other guarantee, than what the sword of the state can furnish.—Under the impression of this truth, it is with unfeigned pleasure that I perceive the powerful efforts of your pen, and the attention of your Correspondents, so industriously directed to the *military system of Great-Britain*. Undoubtedly, as our wealth increases, and as we have more to lose, we must augment the means of defending our



possessions, even setting aside the fact that other states have begun to assert principles of hostility, and to adopt methods of applying them, unexampled in their efficacy, and their danger. With this country so circumstanced, every man must admit that military subjects acquire a transcendent interest, and that the army assumes a character of new and unparalleled importance. He who rejoices at the gradual augmentations which have been made to this member of our national defence, would hope that as it extended in bulk, it might also improve in form and construction; but it would become, on the contrary, a subject of serious regret, if we were to find that almost every effort to increase its magnitude, had been attended with a needless complication of principle, and with a new perplexity of movement. To abler heads, and to those who possess nearer opportunities of examination, I leave the present state of parties; with the hopes or fears which we may justly entertain from those characters, to whom our gracious Sovereign has confided the fate of his crown and of his people, at a crisis so awful as that which now assails us. But I will endeavour, should any hours of relaxation occur to me, to arrange, for your perusal, some brief remarks upon the *constitution of the British army*; always recollecting, that the subject seems naturally to resolve itself into the following classes:—1st. what are those principles in the formation of our army, which it would be wise to discard, and what to bring forward in their stead. 2dly. What practical improvements it might be expedient to introduce, without any change of original principles. Aware, in some degree, though perhaps far from being sufficiently so, of the extent and variety of those topics which *might* be brought into such a discussion, it is but in a very superficial and imperfect manner that I can entertain any hope of treating them. No time nor opportunities, moreover, can befriend me, except the short interruptions of active and almost incessant duty. Under such disadvantages, you may, perhaps, make every allowance for my zeal, and still have ample reason left to doubt the discretion of,

CENTURIO.

Dublin, Jan. 14, 1804.

## DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

*Circular Letter from the Secretary of State to the Lord Lieutenant of Sussex.—Dated Whitehall, Jan. 23, 1804.*

MY LORD,—As in the event of any of the volunteers in the county under your Grace's

charge being either placed on permanent pay and duty, or ordered out on actual service, they are to be subject to military discipline, and to all the provisions contained in any Act of Parliament for the punishment of Mutiny and Desertion, by any Articles of War made in pursuance thereof, in all cases whatever: It appears to be expedient that your Grace should lose no time in directing the commandants of the different corps, in the case of their being so called out, to cause the Articles of War to be read to their corps, as soon after their first assembling as may be practicable, and to repeat the same from time to time as opportunity may be given, in the manner practised in the militia and regulars forces.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c. &c. C. YORKE.

Pursuant to the above order, I do hereby direct that all commanding officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, within the county of Sussex, do pay obedience thereto.

RICHMOND, &amp;c.

Goodwood, Jan. 27, 1804.

## INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN—Intelligence has very lately been received from India, relative to the war now carrying on between the British East-India Company and some of the Native Chiefs. Gen. Wellesley, who directs the military operations against the Mahrattas, had just taken Alomednagher, one of Scindea's principal fortresses, after an attack which was continued for three days, and in which both parties suffered considerable loss. He then proceeded in pursuit of Scindea, had passed the Godavery, and was in full march for Burhampoor, whither the Mahratta troops had fled. The Bengal army under Gen. Lake was in motion to assist the Bombay army, and had already passed the Junina: and hopes were entertained that the co-operation of these two forces would put a speedy termination to the contest. In the Gurrerat the Company's troops have, also, been successful, and Baroach, a place of some importance, has been taken by assault by the troops under the command of Lieut. Col. Woodington. In Ceylon, however, the British arms have met with a sad reverse, in the war waged against the King of Candy, and the garrison of Candy, amounting to nearly four hundred, besides a regiment of Malays, has been massacred by the Candians.—In Egypt, it is said, that tranquillity is restored, and that commerce has already begun to revive. Several ships have arrived at Constantinople from Alexandria, where several Ragusan vessels have been



sent to take in cargoes, and where some considerable mercantile establishments have just been formed by Turkish and Greek merchants.—In Bulgaria the Pasha Mana Ibrahim, who had, for a long time, been making constant inroads into Wallachia, and who had committed many outrages in that province, has been assassinated, with several of his attendants, in the palace of the Pasha Ruschtschuk, who had invited him to an interview.—In Romelia, the rebels have lately gained an important victory over the troops of the Grand Seignior.—Military preparations are in great forwardness in Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland, and the troops in those provinces have received orders from Petersburg to hold themselves in readiness to march at twenty-four hours notice; and it is also said, that contracts for transporting the baggage, &c. of the army have been concluded.—The Batavian Directory has resolved upon a new extraordinary contribution of forty millions of florins, on the property and income of the inhabitants of the Republic, to be levied as a gratuity, and to be appropriated to the expenditure of the present year.—On the 16th of January, the council of war at the Hague publicly passed sentence on Admiral Story, and Captains Von de Capillen and Von Broom, who gave up the Dutch fleet to the English in 1799: They are declared to be disgraced, perjured, and infamous, degraded from their rank, and banished from the Republic under pain of death.—The epidemic which has prevailed so long at Malaga, and which has carried off between seven and eight thousand persons, has now entirely subsided, and those who had fled from the city are returning to their habitations.—The Governor General of Jamaica lately laid before the assembly of that island a letter from Lord Hobart, requesting that a grant might be procured from the Assembly for the maintenance of an additional force of three thousand men, for the security and protection of the province. This request was negatived; and the principal reason for the refusal was, that the island, from the great loss of trade which it has suffered, was unable to defray the expense of their support.—American papers have just been received, stating that on the 30th of December, Louisiana was publicly and solemnly delivered to France by the Spanish commissioners; that the Spanish troops were preparing to quit the colony; that the French commissioner had issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, announcing the surrender to the United States; and that the American commissioners, together with a considerable body of troops, were preparing to leave Fort

Adams, on the Mississippi, to take possession of the country.—Some official papers have just been published, relative to the surrender of the French troops at Cape François, from which it appears that for some time previous to that event, Gen. Rochambeau and his army had been in a deplorable condition: all the places which they had possessed were in the hands of the negroes, and all prospect of success from any further opposition was hopeless. While they were thus situated, Dessalines, the chief of the negro army, sent a summons to the French to evacuate the Cape in ten days; he was then in possession of Fort Picolet, and was preparing to exterminate them, when, on the last day, the English came into the road, and the capitulation was signed. This convention, which was concluded on board *La Surveillante*, at Cape François, on the 30th of November last, between Captain Bligh of the *Thesus*, in behalf of Com. Loring of the *Bellerophon*, who commanded the British squadron on that station; and Gen. Boye and Capt. Barre in behalf of Gen. Rochambeau, stipulates that all the French merchantmen and ships of war at the Cape shall be given up to the English; that the garrison shall surrender as prisoners of war, and be sent to Europe on parole; that the sick shall be sent to France: that individual property shall be respected; and that the neutral vessels on board which the inhabitants of St. Domingo may be embarked, shall be suffered to proceed to the places of their destination.—A negotiation was entered into between the French general and the negro chief for preventing all excesses at the moment of evacuation, and the latter prepared a proclamation to the inhabitants, assuring them of protection and security, both for their persons and property: this proclamation was published by Gen. Rochambeau, with a notice from the council of notables, informing the inhabitants of the pacific disposition of the new government.—A proclamation has since been published by Dessalines, Christophe, and Clervaux, “in the name of the black people, and men of colour in St. Domingo,” avowing the independence of the island, and declaring their determination never to relinquish the rights of freedom; they invite those landholders who are wandering abroad, who will do them justice and treat them as brothers, to return among them, those who still retain their ancient prejudices they threaten, and to those who speak of slavery they declare they will be inexorably cruel; they lament the excesses which have been committed in moments of exasperation; but hope that now, “when victory



has restored peace, every thing in St. Domingo will assume a new face, and its government be that of justice."—Commerce has already been commenced between the island under the protection of the new government, and it is said that a negotiation is going on with the government of Jamaica, for regulating the intercourse which is hereafter to subsist between the two islands.

**DOMESTIC.**—The King has been pleased to grant to the Rev. Robert Holmes, Doctor of Divinity, the Deanry of the Cathedral Church of Winchester, void by the death of Doctor Newton Ogle. —He has also been pleased to grant to the Reverend William Howley, Clerk, Master of Arts, the place and dignity of a Canon of the Cathedral Church of Christ, in the University of Oxford, the same being void by the resignation of Doctor Robert Holmes. —He has also been pleased to grant to the Hon. and Rev. Henry Lewis Hobart, Clerk, Master of Arts, the place and dignity of a Canon or Prebendary of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury, void by the death of Doctor Bennet Storer. —He has been pleased to appoint Mr. Robert Jameson, to the office of Regius Professor of Natural History, and Keeper of the Museum, or Repository of Natural Curiosities in the University of Edinburgh, vacant by the death of Doctor John Walker. —The Hon. Mr. Legge has been appointed to the Commissionership of the Navy Board, vacant by the promotion of Mr. Tucker. —At a Court held on the 1st of February, the following sheriffs were appointed by his Majesty for the year 1804.

Bedfordshire, George Edwards, of Henlow, Esq. —Berkshire, Richard Mathews, of Wargrave, Esq. —Buckinghamshire, Edward Nugent, of Lillies, Esq. —Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, Benjamin Keene, of Wistow Lodge, Esq. —Cheshire, Sir John Fleming Leicester, of Nether Tabley, Bart. —Cumberland, John De Whelpdale, of Penrith, Esq. —Derbyshire, Sir Henry Every, of Egginton, Bart. —Devonshire, postponed. —Dorsetshire, Robert Williams, of Bridy Head, Little Bridy, Esq. —Essex, William Palmer, of Nazing, Esq. —Gloucestershire, Nathaniel Clifford, of Frampton-upon-Severn, Esq. —Herefordshire, Richard Stukely Fleming, of Dinmore Hill, Esq. —Hertfordshire, Edward Garrow, of Totteridge, Esq. —Kent, Sir Walter Stirling, of Shoreham, Bart. —Leicestershire, postponed. —Lincolnshire, Robert Viner, of Godby, Esq. —Monmouthshire, postponed. —Northamptonshire, Charles Tibbitts, of Burton Seagrave, Esq. —Northumberland, Sir Thomas Henry Ydell, of Effington, Bart. —Nottinghamshire, Thomas Webb Edge, of Strelley, Esq. —Oxfordshire, John Langston, of Saraden House, Esq. —Shropshire, postponed. —Somersetshire, John Rogers, of Yarlinton, Esq. —Staffordshire, Richard Jesson, of West Bromwich, Esq. —County of

Southampton, Sir Charles Mill, of Mottesfont, Bart. —Suffolk, postponed. —Surrey, William Borradale, of Streatham, Esq. —Sussex, John Dennet, of Woodmancoat, Esq. —Warwickshire, Roger Vaughton, of Sutton Coldfield, Esq. —Wiltshire, Wadham Lock, of Rowd Ford, Esq. —Worcestershire, Edward Knight, of Woolverley, Esq. —Yorkshire, James Fox, of Bramham Park, Esq. —**SOUTH WALES.**—Carmarthen, John Simmons, of Llangenah, Esq. —Pembroke, Sir Hugh Owen, of Oriulton, Bart. —Cardigan, John Bond, of Kesney Coed, Esq. —Glamorgan, Richard Tuberville Picton, of Ewenny, Esq. —Brecon, Penry Williams, of Penpont, Esq. —Radnor, Thomas Frankland Lewis, of Harpton Court, Esq. —**NORTH WALES.**—Merioneth, Sir Edward Price Lloyd, of Park, Bart. —Carnarvon, Owen Molineux Wynn, of Penmachno, Esq. —Anglesey, Thomas Parry Jones, of Cum Coch, Esq. —Montgomery, Charles Hanbury Tracey, of Greginnog, Esq. —Denbigh, Robert William Wynne, of Garthelwix, Esq. —Flint, Richard Garnons, the younger, of Lestwood, Esq. —And at a Council held on the 2d, by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, Sir Lionel Copley, of Bake, Bart. was appointed Sheriff for the County of Cornwall.

**MILITARY.**—The foreign journals state that the Batavian and French troops assembled on the coasts of Holland are in a state of preparation to be immediately embarked on the expedition against England. Gen. Dumonceau, who commands the Batavian troops has just left the Hague, where he had been for some days, with the final instructions for his conduct. Notwithstanding the great numbers which have been collecting on the Dutch coast for some time past, fresh troops are daily arriving there, intended, it is supposed, to supply the places of those who may be embarked. In the island of Walcheren, particularly, the re-inforcement has been considerable, because it has been long apprehended that the English would make some hostile attempt in that quarter. —The Batavian government has lately published a decree, relative to those officers and soldiers who may be made prisoners of war in the expedition. It ordains that they shall forfeit to government whatever pay may be due to them; that the time during which they are prisoners shall not be taken into the account of their period of service; that if they do not return when released they shall be considered as deserters; and that they shall all be immediately replaced by French recruits; that officers shall be debarred from advancement during that period, and be replaced by those who may not have suffered themselves to be taken; and, finally, that those who do not, then, conduct themselves agreeably to the wishes of government, shall be broke, and the non-commissioned officers compelled to serve as privates: the wives of all who desert are to be deprive!



of the allowance usually granted.—The French troops who have been marched from Hanover to the Dutch coast have suffered greatly from the frost, during the cold weather which prevailed at the time, and considerable numbers have been left on the way. The conduct of the French troops in Holland, generally, has been very oppressive, but the inhabitants have not dared to complain. Gen. Victor, who commands them, has, however, arrested and punished several of those who had been guilty of outrages, and has declared his resolution of proceeding with the utmost severity against any one, whatever might be his rank, who shall infringe the laws of the country, or cause any disturbance whatever.—Ten thousand men are assembling in the neighbourhood of Toulon, and Gen. Regnier, who was at Bolognà, has set out for that port to assume the command of them.

NAVAL.—Part of the flotilla at Flushing, under the command of Admiral Verheul, lately put to sea, for the purpose of manœuvring and exercising the men. A detachment of the flotilla at Boulogne under the command of Admiral Bruix, also, came out for the same purpose, a short time ago, and returned uninjured. These circumstances are supposed to have given rise to the rumours which prevailed, during the few last days, of the sailing of the expedition against England.—On the 18th of August last, Capt. Ross in his Majesty's ship *Desirée*, on the Jamaica station, dispatched the boats of his ship, armed, under the command of Lieut. Canning, to cut out the vessels laying at anchor in Monte Christie roads, which service he effected, notwithstanding a very heavy fire from the batteries, and brought off five schooners and a sloop. On the 4th of September, he made another attempt at the same place, and succeeded in bringing off six schooners.—Admiral Duckworth has transmitted to the Admiralty, a list of the vessels captured, detained, and destroyed, by the ships and vessels at and near Jamaica, during the months of October and November last, amounting in all to thirty-six French, seven American, and one Spanish.—On the 10th of Jan. Capt. Woolridge of the *Scourge* sloop, cut out of the Vlie Roads an English ship of 400 tons, laden with timber, which had been captured by a Dutch privateer, on her passage from Memel to Hull.—On the 25th of January, Capt. Selby in the *Cerberus*, cruising off Cape la Hogue, fell in with a convoy of four armed French vessels, one of which he captured, and another drove upon the rocks; the others escaped,

owing to the vicinity of the rocks. Capt. S.'s prize is the French gun vessel, *Le Chameau*, of three hundred tons burthen, carrying four six-pounders and ten swivels, and having on board fifty-eight men, twenty-one of whom were soldiers, fully accounted.—On the 30th of January, Capt. Bennet in the *Tribune*, fell in with a small flotilla from St. Maloes, bound to Cherbourg, consisting of three brigs and some smaller boats, but as the wind blew very hard, he could only capture two, which were No. 43 and 47, of one hundred tons each, and carrying two twenty-four and one eighteen-pounder, each, and having on board fifty-one seamen, and forty soldiers of the 32d demi-brigade. Capt. S. had previously destroyed a large boat from La Hogue.—On the same day, Capt. Mundy, in the *Hydra*, fell in with the rest of the convoy, and captured the brig, No. 51, of one hundred tons, carrying three twenty-four pounders, and having on board fifty men and officers, a lieutenant and twenty-six of which belong to the 32d demi-brigade; and, also, the lugger, No. 411, armed with one eighteen-pounder, and having on board thirty-six men and officers, a lieutenant and twenty-six of which are of the same brigade.

#### SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

STATE OF FRANCE.—It is always of great utility to know the real internal situation of our enemy; because, according to that situation we must make our preparations for attack or defence. The *Exposé* of the First Consul (see next sheet, p. 205) may be, and undoubtedly is, a very flattering picture, as far as relates to circumstances favourable to his republic; but, we must, on the other hand, remember, that, in the greater part of the *Exposé*, he speaks of such signs of improvement, as are visible, and as cannot have been merely invented for the occasion; because such a tissue of falsehoods must have had an effect precisely the contrary to that which was evidently his interest and his intention to produce.—What he says respecting the state of his finances, indeed, is of a different nature. Here the field for deception is boundless; and, it is impossible to say, whether his statement or that of Sir Francis D'Ivernois, and the other ministerial writers, is most true; or, more correctly speaking, which of them is least false. But, we are, unhappily, well assured, that he *actually* raised within the year all the money necessary to defray the expenses of the year; and that



though we are told of the poverty of France, we know she has no national debt worth speaking of, and, which is the same thing, she has no paper money; none of that sort of property which gives to its owners an interest at variance with that of the country, and which, in case of foreign invasion or internal commotion, vanishes into air, leaving its present possessors to perish. It is, however, with no small satisfaction, that every well-wisher of England must hear the Consul talk of his *sinking fund*. "The sinking fund," says he, "fulfils, with constancy and fidelity, its destination. Already in possession of a portion of the public debt, it every day accumulates a treasure, which secures to the state a speedy liquidation." This is delightful! A sinking fund, a public debt, a speedy liquidation! These are the things, precisely the things which we must wish our mortal enemy to boast of; but, it is to be feared, that he is joking upon this subject, or we might hope, that our great grand children would see France what England now is. — The destruction of the French commerce, which has been regarded as a master stroke, on our part, has, perhaps, done more real injury to this country than to that; for, it is well known, that the losses, sustained in consequence thereof, have, at last, chiefly fallen upon the insurers, the merchants, and the bankers of England. This is another of the political effects of our vaunted "capital, credit, and confidence." — The French are now a military people; a people completely military, following scarcely any other civil profession than that of cultivating the earth. In such a nation nothing is fluctuating; nothing that can suddenly and materially effect the value of property; nothing that can induce the government to abandon its projects; and, particularly, to make a peace that shall leave us in safety. With such a people for our enemy, and leaving the Doctor and his brethren for our guardians, where are we to look for hope? for the death of Buonaparté, and some consequent overthrow of the government and power of France? Foolish and base hope! Every person that returns from France, on whom reliance can be placed, represents the people as being generally well pleased with their ruler. There are no visible discontents; the ambition of the people is highly gratified by the achievements of their government; and, indeed, when they look at their proud attitude with respect to all other nations, and especially with respect to their now humbled rival; when they compare the talents and measures of the people

who rule them, with the talents and measures of the miserable souls, to whom the affairs of this country are committed, who can wonder, that they are reluctant to hazard the consequences of a change? It is not that they hate monarchy, but that they love national honour; not that they love an usurper, but that they hate that national humiliation and disgrace, which they see but too frequently the lot of the subjects of kings. This is a consideration of much more weight than we are generally aware of; and, it behoves us well to reflect on the sort of example, which *we ourselves are giving to the people of France*; it behoves us to ask ourselves, whether our situation is such as to be an object of envy with our neighbours; whether our slavish submission to a ministry, whom we all despise, is a circumstance likely to induce the French to seek for any change that shall subject them even to the chance of being governed by Addingtons, Braggs, Jenkinsons, Marsdens, Hobhouses, and Tierneys? \*

WELSH COAST. — If the accounts given by the ministerial writers, relative to the formidable state of our defensive means, be true, it is certainly not unreasonable to expect, that the coast of Wales should be tolerably well protected; yet, it is very positively asserted, that the Cambrian principality is not, in this respect, more fortunate than Norfolk, Yorkshire, or Scotland. If an invasion should be attempted, and all our warlike measures are founded upon the presumption that it will, no part appears to be more likely for the enemy to fix on, than the coast bordering on the Bristol Channel. The practicability of sending a division of ships very far up that Channel cannot be denied; and, if any considerable object is to be answered by it, why should it not be attempted? The chance of plundering such a city as Bristol, and the liberation of such a body of French prisoners as are lodged in that neighbourhood, is by no means unworthy of an expedition. Ought we not, therefore to be surprised, that, for the protection of the coast of the Bristol Channel, there is only one frigate with half her complement of men, 2,000 men, militia and army of reserve, to which may be added a regiment of volunteer infantry, three troops of cavalry,

\* A STATISTICAL VIEW OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, by M. le Chevalier de Tinseau, is well worthy of the attention of those gentlemen, who wish to obtain a correct knowledge of the resources of France, and of the state and distribution of those resources. — This work may be regarded as unquestionably accurate, and certainly it is of great utility in all the inquiries to which it relates.



and about 4 or 500 sea fencibles. The city of Bristol, which contains, perhaps, 10,000 men fit to bear arms, and which was the foremost in offering its services, has been so contumeliously treated by the ministers, that a very small portion of its inhabitants are enrolled. As to regular troops, they are, in that part of the kingdom, as scarce as the eagle or any other rare and solitary bird. The coast of Wales is left to its fate. If the inhabitants do not defend themselves, they must, if attacked, be subdued. It is to be confidently presumed, that the Welsh would bravely fight for their country; but, that is no reason why it should be so shamefully neglected.—Let it not be said, that this is giving information to the enemy: such charges are become stingless: nobody is now so weak as to be misled by them: thanks to the Scotch magistrates, this mode of stifling the voice of complaint is exploded. If Buonaparté does not already know the state of the Welsh coast, the ministers have quite time enough to send a force to protect it, as also a naval force sufficient to protect the Bristol Channel. The ministers have appointed a *General*, indeed, to command in the district, of which Bristol forms a part; but, the General, alas! instead of telling the people to rely on him and his army for security, called upon them to adopt measures for securing themselves! There was *no time*, he told them, for applying to government; but, he did not inform them why the government neglected to provide the means of security before. To say the truth, however, the general was not answerable for this neglect; he could not help the naked state of the harbour and Channel of Bristol; his endeavours to cause them to be put in a state of defence were perfectly laudable, and no blame attaches to him for any thing, except for having accepted of a command from a ministry, whom, it is absolutely impossible that he should not despise. The parishes of Bristol rejected the general's proposals. They admitted the justice of his representation respecting their defenceless state; but they refused to provide the remedy themselves, stating it to be the duty of the government to provide for the protection of every part of the Empire. "Is not," said they, "the flower of the British army employed for the protection of the metropolis? And, does not Bristol contribute its share towards the support of that army." They were told, that 10 or 20,000 l. would have been no object with such an opulent city as Bristol. True, but, as the parishes observe, the advance of that sum would have been to sanction a very un-

just and very unconstitutional principle; and, there was a time, when parliament would have asked, whence a general derived his authority to propose to a city to raise money for warlike purposes. But, notions of this sort now appear to have taken their leave of men's minds. So far from having any fear of being charged with causing money to be raised without consent of parliament, the ministers are never so full of confidence as when they are asserting that money, and for war-like purposes too, will be so raised. Indeed, for the purpose of obtaining the popularity to be derived from a nominal economy, the ministers have adopted every scheme, that they can devise for the purpose of supporting the expenses of defence by *subscription*. Such a course of proceeding must inevitably lead to destructive consequences; but, it will keep the ministers in power a few months longer, and that is all that they have in view. There is, however, this consolation; that, whatever evils, whatever miseries, whatever degree of slavery and infamy the people of this country may be compelled to bear, in consequence of the duration of the Doctor's power, must be infinitely short of their deserts.

**THE FLEET.**—Great praise has been bestowed, and, perhaps, very justly bestowed, on the perseverance of the Admiral, who, amidst all the gales that we lately have had, has, with so little intermission, maintained his station off the harbour of Brest; but, it is the opinion of those, most likely to be accurately informed upon the subject; and, it is said to be that of Admiral Cornwallis himself, that the system of blocking Brest, as it is now conducted, will shortly destroy a considerable portion of our navy. The ships are hurried out, half-fired and stored; in a state, in which British men of war would not formerly have been sent to sea. It is stated, upon authority, in which perfect reliance may be placed, that several of the ships, after the late gales, had scarcely a whole sail on board; and, the consequence may be, the loss of one or more or all of them, in the event of their being overtaken with a gale, upon a lee shore. We have, or shall soon have, 14 sail of the line at sea with Admiral Cornwallis; but several of them are in need of repair, and will want to be taken into dock at no very distant day; and, there are no ships in forwardness to replace them, while a very great deficiency of stores prevails, at Plymouth in particular. These facts are not stated upon slight grounds.—Instead of blockading Brest, some very able officers think, that we



principles; parliament general de- a city to But, no- have taken o far from ged with ur consent never so e asserting poses too, e purpose e derived rsers have an devised e expenses course of o destruct ep the mi- nger, and . There at, what- tever de- ple of this r, in con- Doctor's their de- has been y bestow- Admiral, ve lately mission, ighbour of ose, most upon the of Admi- system of cted, will on of our half fir- h British ave been ority, in- ed, that ales, had and, the or more ng over- e. We the line t several ill want y distant wardness reat de- outh in ed upon ckading, that we

ould keep a squadron of line of battle ships constantly in Cawsand and Torbay, and another in Ireland, ready to sail at a moment's notice, with a chain of frigates continually reconnoitring to give immediate information of any movements in Brest; but the object should be rather to have a squadron always ready to pursue a French ship, than to tear our own to pieces during the winter months, and, when driven off their station, giving the enemy an opportunity of pursuing his plans without being able to interrupt him. By keeping a squadron in reserve, we should never suffer him to gain above a few hours start of us; and, indeed, should he make for Ireland, he would have no starting time at all. It will be said, perhaps, that our reconnoitring frigates would be driven off in a gale as our ships of the line now are; and, consequently, could not give information of any movements that the enemy might make immediately after such a gale. True, but, our naval commander would, of course, at such times, push out, without waiting for advice, and return again after a short cruise. —The system of blockade is a defensive system; purely defensive; and, like all others of the kind, it costs most to him who pursues it. We know not exactly what force Buonaparté may have at Brest: we can hear, that he has no naval force at all: his naval means are a standing jest. But, if he has naval force enough to keep all our naval force amply employed; to compel us to strain every nerve; to fit out all we can obtain men and stores for; to anticipate our naval resources; to work up our stock of materials without being able to replenish it; he can compel us to do all this, what consolation is it for us to know, that he is destitute of naval force? Really, when we consider the number of ships, of guns, of men, the immense quantity of stores, that we have on board, and reflect, that all these are merely to watch an enemy, who, we are told is perfectly contemptible upon the ocean; and, when we further reflect, that all these ships and sixty thousand sailors are employed to prevent an army (at most a hundred thousand) of "French slaves" from coming to attack "seven-hundred thousand free-born Britons;" when one thinks of this, one is really almost tempted to wish oneself, not a French slave, to be sure; but almost anything other than what one is. We have heretofore blockaded Brest, and the circumstance was not thought humiliating. True; but we were never before engaged in a war, which *all* was defensive; for, as to the colonies that we have taken, the capture of them is totally unworthy of being regarded

as offensive operations; all that the captors had to do was merely to exchange the custom-house and other civil officers, merely to cause the produce to be shipped to England instead of France and Holland.

**VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.** — Instead of taking measures, in order to attack the enemy and to put an end to the war, the ministers are engaged in tarning and patching their means of defence; or, rather, the means by which they hope to be able to defend their places. The regular army is a perfect skeleton. Exclusive of the men obtained from the army of reserve, the recruiting of the regulars scarcely makes up for deaths, discharges, and desertions; and, if regiments on colonial service are taken into the account, it falls short even of that. Of the men obtained from the army of reserve five-sixths are mere men of straw; absolutely the refuse of the land, actually collected, not a few of them, from before the *magistrates* of the metropolis. And thus it is that we are to become a "military people!" —The militia cannot be filled. The source from which it was supplied is also dry. And here we stand, a population of fifteen millions of souls incapable of sending forth a single brigade to any part of the world! Of volunteers we have, indeed, an abundance; but what service they are to be of has never yet been clearly pointed out; and, that they will be, for any length of time, kept together in corps, is more than any thinking man will venture to assert. — It was hoped, by some persons, that the ministers were about to propose a *complete revision* of the volunteer system; but, alas! just what was anticipated in the preceding sheet, a mere patching of it up, is all they now appear to have in view! The truth is, that the *system* cannot be improved: it has in it the seeds of destruction; destruction to itself, or to the monarchy. Such was my opinion at the first, such it still is, and such it shall still be declared, notwithstanding the insinuations that it may bring forth of my being an enemy to my country, an appellation which is indiscriminately bestowed on all those who dare to doubt either the disinterestedness or the talents of ministers. "A *clamour* against the *Volunteers*!" Who ever raised such a clamour? So, all the persons, who have foreseen and foretold the present existing evils of the *system* are to be accused of hatred and hostility to the 400,000 men, who have arms in their hands! Wherein have I shown myself the *enemy* of these men any more than Mr. Yorke? Why should I be their enemy? They have done me no harm; but, on the contrary, appear very willing to do me and



all of us good. I want to get no fees from them, nor to put any officers over them. I have no purpose to answer by their dissolution; nor can their continuing embodied ever do me much harm. I have no lands in Richmond Park; I am no Clerk of the Pells; very little mischief can happen to me from any of the consequences that I apprehend from the system. — The childish whine about “*designing* persons, who are “endeavouring to set the volunteers against the government, and the government against the volunteers,” is really pitiful. It is a shame for *men* to give way to such miserable plaintive accusations. We shall, by and by, I suppose, hear of designing persons charged with *setting* the people against the ministers. With those who are acquainted with the *modesty* of the Addingtons nothing in this way will appear incredible. — But, is Mr. Whitbread, too, a “*designing* person?” Is he also an enemy of the volunteers; of the 400,000 men in arms? He, who is himself a colonel of volunteers, will scarcely be thought their enemy. Yet, as the reader will observe, there is scarcely one objection, which I have, at any time, urged to the system, which Mr. Whitbread has not, by experience, found to be well founded. He has found the exemptions to impoverish the army and the militia; he is of opinion that there is no economy in the system; he declares that the funds of the corps cannot last long, and that the public treasure must support them, or recourse must be had to “*compulsory subscriptions*”; he disapproves of the fines; he reprobates the idea of *compelling* men to remain in the corps; and, upon the whole, though originally a cordial friend of the system, he now wishes it never had existed. Will the modest ministers, therefore, say, that this gentleman is an enemy of the country, an enemy of the volunteers, and a designing person? They will scarcely venture so far; not publicly at least; but their hirelings will continue to repeat these charges against all those, who agree with him in opinion, and whom they can revile with impunity. I do not know any thing that is a more severe trial to loyalty and patriotism than the reflection, that what one pays to the state; what one earns hardly, and cheerfully contributes for the support of the honour and welfare of the country, goes, in part, to the feeding and pampering of the scurrilous slaves by whom one is openly belied and abused. — Great complaint was made, in the debate of the other evening, that those who found fault with the plans of the ministers *did not propose others*. They have proposed others. Mr. Windham began his op-

position to the present system by proposing another system. It was not adopted. Why should he propose any more? Indeed, it is by no means incumbent on members of parliament, not belonging to the ministry, to propose measures in lieu of measures that they may think proper to oppose. To those who are to execute a plan belongs the task of devising and proposing it; and, the business of those, who have nothing to do with the execution, is to *approve*, or to *disapprove*, of the proposition; because, it is always understood, that they who are most capable of devising measures are the fittest persons to carry them into effect; or, in other words, when the nation relies more upon the wisdom of the Opposition than upon that of the Ministry, the Ministry ought to be changed, and the Opposition put in their places. Unless, therefore, we suppose a state of things, in which the weakest and most ignorant part of the Parliament are by some over-ruling necessity, obliged to be kept in power, it is not only not the duty of the Opposition to propose measures, but it really appears to be their duty to abstain from it. This state of things, however, the ministers would make us believe now really exists. They do not openly say, in the Parliament Houses, *that the King has resolved never to change them for any other ministers*; but their hirelings make no scruple to assert it in conversation, and many of them in print. If this were the case, as it certainly is not, there might be some doubts as to how far an Opposition ought to aid, with their advice, a ministry so constituted and so established in power; but, while we presume that no such over-ruling resolution has been adopted; while we presume, and it were disloyalty to presume otherwise, that our gracious Sovereign has, in his ministers, no choice or predilection but that which arises from his desire to preserve, untarnished, the honour of his crown, and to secure the liberty and happiness of his people; while this is our presumption, we must ever regard it as the duty of a parliamentary Opposition to abstain from the proposing of measures, to be acted upon by the ministry. — Besides, if the Opposition were to propose a new system for the Volunteers, what would be the consequence? It would be garbled by the ministry, who, by appearing reluctantly to yield to whatever part of it should bear hard upon the people, would gain popularity from the very thing which they would pervert into the cause of odium on their opponents. No; let *them* propose. Let *their* schemes be approved of or disapproved of; but let them still be *theirs*. No amendments, except for the purpose of



growing out the whole measure; no mid-  
 cause; no effusions of candour; no  
 crying. There they are; they  
 have their system in their own hands; it is  
 the subject of their exultation; it is the  
 life of their lives; let them alone with it,  
 men; let us see what they will do with it;  
 as to the argument that their ignorance  
 or perverseness ought not to prevent us  
 from endeavouring to save the country, it  
 falls to the ground the moment you reflect,  
 that our danger arises solely from their  
 being in power, and that your recommenda-  
 tion of measures will only tend to prolong  
 the duration of that power. In case, in-  
 stead, of any imminent peril, the providing  
 against which would not admit of a delay  
 sufficient to give his Majesty time to change  
 his servants; in such a case, it would, un-  
 doubtedly, be proper for any member of  
 Parliament, however he might deprecate  
 the continuation of the ministers, to propose  
 such measures for them to act on, as he  
 would think likely to prevent the dreaded  
 mischief; but, at present, there is time suf-  
 ficient for the changing of ministers; the  
 evil is great, but not so near at hand as to  
 render a short delay destructive; and, there-  
 fore, there can be no good reason given for  
 Opposition members to enroll them-  
 selves under the ministers as volunteer states-  
 men. All that they have to do, all that they  
 ought to do, is to show the evil effects of the  
 system, to point out to the Parliament how the  
 nation has already been harrassed, injured,  
 exposed to the enemy, by the ignorance  
 and imbecility of the ministers; to warn them  
 of the mischiefs, which are likely to arise  
 from the miserable compromise now pro-  
 posed; and, of course, to vote against such  
 a proposition. If there be any man, who,  
 unable longer to exist out of the air of a  
 court, pining to death after the exercise of  
 power, yearning after that flattering and  
 winning which patronage only can secure,  
 wishes to creep in amongst ministers whom  
 he hates and whom every one else despises;  
 there be, amongst the oppositionists, such  
 a man, it is for him, and him alone, to  
 get into their ranks by proposing to them  
 reforms or improvements, by mixing up his  
 measures with theirs, and, by such means,  
 imperceptibly creating a plausible pretext  
 for defending both measures and ministers  
 against their opponents.

**PARTIES.**—If it were put to the whole  
 nation, man by man, whether the present  
 ministers ought not to be turned out, there  
 would be for the affirmative 999 out of every  
 thousand; and if you were then to put to  
 a vast majority, the question, whether they  
 should beseech the king to turn them out,

there would be for the *negative* an almost  
 unanimous vote. Those, therefore, who  
 think that an universal expression of con-  
 tempt for the ministers and of disgust and  
 loathing at their ignorance and vanity are in-  
 dications of an approaching change, do not  
 sufficiently attend to the distinction between  
 the expressions which men make use of in  
 their private and those which they make use  
 of in their public capacities; between their  
 wishes and their actions; between their duty  
 and their fears. But, why, some one will  
 ask, "in God's name, *why* should the peo-  
 ple of England be afraid of Doctor Ad-  
 dington?" They are not afraid of Doctor  
 Addington, but of poverty and misery; and,  
 if you ask me, how their situation in life de-  
 pends on him, I need only beg of you to re-  
 collect, that he is either directly or indirect-  
 ly, actually the *paymaster* of nearly *one half*  
*of the people*, as must be evident to any one  
 who will give himself time to consider the  
 amount of the revenue and of the loans, the  
 mode of the collection of the former, and  
 the manner in which the whole finds its  
 way, through the hands of the government,  
 into those of the community. Let any ten  
 readers of the Register make out a list of their  
 acquaintance, then inquire strictly into the  
 connexions, views, and interests of each,  
 and, if they do not find, that a *very great*  
*majority* of them are in a state of ministerial  
 dependence, more or less complete, I will  
 give up all pretensions to political calcula-  
 tion. When, therefore, we express to one  
 another our astonishment at the duration of  
 a ministry, who have neither weight of fa-  
 mily, of public character, or of talents, one  
 of which, at least, has always heretofore  
 been, in this country, regarded as absolutely  
 necessary to the support of a ministry, we  
 forget the vast and fearful addition, which,  
 since the commencement of Mr. Pitt's sway,  
 has been made to that power which is attach-  
 ed to the office of the minister; we forget,  
 that the taxes have been tripled, that the  
 tax-gatherers and others receiving their  
 bread immediately from the hand of the go-  
 vernment have been more than tripled, and  
 that, by the help of companies, of boards,  
 &c. the chain of dependence is now so com-  
 plete as to render the whole nation a sort of  
 vassal village, of which the minister is the  
 lord. Mr. Pitt *retired*, or he might have  
 been minister to the end of his life; that is  
 to say, if his death had not been preceded  
 by the death of the funding and taxing sys-  
 tem. Mr. Pitt, upon his retirement, ap-  
 pears to have thought, that the unbounded  
 influence he had enjoyed belonged to his per-  
 son and talents, and not to his office; a mis-  
 take, which, if he had not perceived it be-



fore, must have been radically removed by the treatment of his proposal relative to the tax upon the funds, which proposal, when the Doctor said NO, was *rejected by a dead majority*, and which same proposal, when, only twenty-four hours afterwards, the Doctor said AYE, was *unanimously adopted!* When Mr. Pitt went out of office, he had not the least suspicion, but that he should be able to enter it again whenever he pleased. The Doctor thought so too; and, for some time, he appears to have regarded himself as no more than a box-keeper; but, as the curtain rose, as the drama unfolded itself, he found, that he had acquired a real and permanent seat. The adulation which he at first received seemed to throw him into a state of amazement like that of NELL JOHNSON, when she wakes in the morning, and finds half a dozen servants curtsying and bowing at her bed-side: he could scarcely believe his eyes and his ears: but he was not long in discovering that he had got possession of the drug, the political love-powder, that supplies the place of wit and wisdom.—“Taxation is no tyranny,” said Doctor Johnson, and he was very right. Nothing can be more evidently just, than that every man should contribute, according to his means, towards the support of the government, without which there can be no property, no liberty, no safety for life or for any thing. But, though taxation, in the abstract, be not tyranny, it may be carried to such a length as to produce slavery. It may be so far pushed as to make *all* the people of a country dependent upon the government, even for the necessities of life; and yet all the forms of law, all the names, forms, and appearances of property and of liberty, civil and political, may still remain. In such a state of things, no one would, I presume, pretend that the people were *free*. This is, indeed, to suppose an extreme case; but, a nation may be very far from this extremity, and may, nevertheless, have lost, by the influence of taxation, a considerable portion of its liberty. This is the situation, in which I look upon Great Britain as being placed at this moment; and, therefore, those who think with me, will not be very sanguine as to the success of any opposition to the minister, unless the minister himself should become terrified at the consequences of his own work; unless, in a war between his interest and his vanity, the former should triumph over the latter; unless a regard for his property and his personal

safety should induce him, in time, to yield the protecting powers of government into abler hands; unless some motive, such as these should operate with him. I have, for my part, not the least notion, that there is any human power capable of driving him from his place, as long as he can continue to *make loans and increase the taxes*. If, therefore, the Doctor should be *spared*, as the Methodists call it; and if no sudden storm foreign or domestic, should arise to sweep away his ministry; and, if he should not be seized with any sickly woman's fears, we must, in order to know how long he will continue to be minister, ascertain how long the funding system will last. This system will certainly last a shorter time on account of the Doctor's being minister, so that his administration cuts both ways. “It is a monster that poisons the meat it feeds upon.” But, the danger is, and it is a danger that every good man must tremble at, that the system, the ministry, and the monarchy may all fall together.

## NOTICES.

THE SUPPLEMENT to Vol. IV. of the Register will be published in a few days. The *first, second, and third* Volumes have been reprinted; and *complete sets of the work* neatly and uniformly half-bound, with Russia backs, may be had by application to R. BAGSHAW, Bow-Street, Covent-Garden, or to J. BUDD, Pall-Mall, or to any of the Booksellers or Newsmen of London or Westminster.

COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, in eight numbers, including all the Debates of the present Session, previous to the Christmas recess, together with an abstract of all the accounts laid before Parliament, and the titles of the acts passed, during the time, may be had by application made to the Editor above. These Debates, the Editor ventures to assert, are by far the most correct, faithful, and *impartial*, that were ever published in this country, a character which has, indeed, been universally given them. Upon the result of a *comparison* between this work and others, professing the same object the Editor, from the first, expressed his readiness to rely for success; and, he is confident that, the more frequently such comparison is made, the more evident will appear the superiority which he has been so anxious to give to his publication.



## The TRUE BRITON and SUN Newspapers.

The *Press* is of so much importance, its influence is so powerful, in almost every department of public affairs, that, however low, insignificant, and worthless are the persons, in whose hands any portion of it may happen to be, it is itself never an object to be disregarded; especially when its efforts are made in the form of a newspaper. Under this persuasion it is, that I have thought it my duty to present to the Public, a picture of the political attitude of the *True Briton* and the *Sun*, a morning and evening paper, which belong to the same person, the contents of which are the same, and which were originally established, and still appear to be under the influence of, the late Secretaries of the Treasury. The picture is too glaring to need explanation; it will speak but too plainly for itself; one circumstance only, therefore, I beg leave to point out to the reader, to wit, that the tone and sentiments of these papers, with respect to Mr. Addington and the present ministry, did not begin to be hostile, till after the rapture of the negotiation between Mr. Addington and Mr. Pitt!

### *Confidence in the Government.*

We know that we have a government, able, observant, vigilant, and firm; and, wholly indifferent to the charge of adulation and subserviency, we readily leave to the public to determine, whether our confidence is or does not sympathize with the feelings and opinions of our countrymen at large. Feb. 28, 1803.

### *Energy of Ministers.*

To those who have hazarded the idle and unfounded accusation of want of energy and courage against our ministers, we answer by a single question. What solitary instance can be adduced, since his Majesty called them to their present situations, that can furnish even a colour for it? Jan. 1, 1803.

### *Mr. Addington's Spirit.*

We have, in the experience of two critical years, an abundant pledge, that nothing unjust, unreasonable, or insulting to the honour of France, is likely to be required by our present rulers on the one hand, and that nothing will be admitted, insulting to our own honour, or derogatory to our essential interests, on the other.—March 9, 1803.

### *The Country in a proud Position.*

We have no doubt that his Majesty's ministers will persevere in that line of conduct which they have hitherto adopted, and which, while it amply provides for the safety of the country, shews a determined disposition to engage, with promptitude and effect, any infringement of its rights, or any attack upon its honour. This is the position which characterizes true courage, untainted by temerity on the one hand, or pusillanimity on the other; and we may confidently assert, that with increasing resources and unbroken spirit, this country is in a situation which affords matter for exultation to every well-wisher to its interests.—Nov. 29, 1802.

### *Flourishing State of the Revenue.*

Our commerce has never been so flourish-

### *Want of confidence in the Government.*

It creates, every day that passes over our heads, the most melancholy reflections in the mind of every thinking man, to see the nation still governed by those in whom it has no confidence.—Dec. 8, 1803.

### *Incapacity of Ministers.*

Is it not time that the representatives of the nation should throw themselves between the incapacity of ministers and the country, and reserve the latter from the critical and perilous state in which we fear it will be found to be.—Dec. 3, 1803.

### *Mr. Addington's Baseness.*

After having humbled the British nation in the eyes of Europe, ministers still pretend to be able to maintain the dignity of the nation in such a momentous contest!—Jan. 21, 1804.

### *The Country on the Brink of Ruin.*

Setting aside the losses and the sacrifices we have been made to undergo, we have sunk in the estimation of the nations around us. Our faith was till lately unimpeachable. England might sometimes fail, but she never dishonoured herself. How is the scene reversed! but the work is Mr. Addington's. The progress to ruin is a rapid descent, when once the ball is delivered; and much do we fear that it was delivered with one hand, when he accepted the Seals from his Sovereign with the other.—Nov. 10, 1803.

### *Deficiency of the Revenue.*

The injury sustained by our commerce; the



rising—our revenue never been so productive, even in the best times of the great minister, who laid the foundation of their prosperity, and to whose breast, we are persuaded, their improvement and increase will afford no less solid satisfaction than to his successor, under whose *auspices* we have the *happiness* to experience them.—Nov. 29, 1802.

*A Change of Ministry unnecessary.*

To say that the present ministry want the power which is the result of reputation, is to slander the people of this country, and accuse them of the grossest injustice and ingratitude. The present ministry have followed the steps of the great statesman who carried on the war. The present ministry put an end to that war, and effected a peace, in which the national dignity and the national interest were secured.—The people of this country, who enjoy the blessings of peace, and are likely to enjoy them every day more and more, cannot but feel grateful to the ministry to whom they are indebted for those blessings.—Oct. 2, 1802.

*No Change of Ministry necessary.*

The discussions which have taken place since the meeting of Parliament, have tended very much to strengthen the *just confidence* reposed in his Majesty's ministers, to improve the opinion which was entertained of our general situation, and to dispel the gloom which hung upon the minds of many. The suspicion of too ready a disposition to concede on the part of government, entertained by some persons, has been done away.—Dec. 24, 1802.

*Mr. Pitt the only Man to save the Nation.*

As the ivy that embraces the oak, is sheltered by its proud height and spreading branches from the ravages of the storm, so we cling to the genius of Pitt, as *the surest saviour of our country*. It is *he alone* that, in our opinion, can successfully cope with the duplicity, the cunning, and the rooted enmity of France towards the British Empire. Let but the genius of Pitt preside, and we shall think ourselves secure.—May 4, 1803.

Upon the voice of that great man (Mr. Pitt) do we conceive *the fate* of the British Empire to be at the present moment in a great degree *suspended*.—Nov. 19, 1803.

*deficiency of our revenue* in spite of the gratuitous and unnecessary misrepresentations to the House last December; with all these evils and damning proofs of misconduct, what could induce Mr. Addington to throw down this gage of defiance (the "Cursor's Remarks") and to tempt the exposure of the real and dreadful dilemma to which the country is reduced by his family councils and unsteady policy?—Nov. 10, 1803.

*A Change of Ministry can alone save the Nation.*

Every thing shews the want of co-operation and of union in the great department of the state. We feel it our duty to say that *a change of ministry can alone restore the proper confidence of the nation*, and redeem our political character with the powers of Europe, a change which we know we are fully justified in affirming to be *ardently desired by ninety-nine out of a hundred of the whole population of the British empire*.—Oct. 13, 1803.

*Any Change of Ministry must be for the better.*

Changes, and those very material ones, in the administration, are talked of. They cannot come too soon for the good of the country, and we have the melancholy consolation at the present awful crisis, that *any change must be for the better*, if that change is not confined solely to the paltry object of keeping the present inefficient and imbecile ministers in their places.—Nov. 19, 1803.

*Mr. Pitt not the only Man to save the Nation.*

That consistent statesman, Lord Grenville, is pleased to tell us, that Mr. Pitt is *the only person*, at the present crisis, capable of saving the country!!!—The measures of a government may be very wise and highly salutary to the country whose affairs are intrusted to its management, though unaccompanied with the display of *extraordinary oratorical talents*. Like the powers of mechanism, the affairs of state may generally be considered as going on the most correct and satisfactorily, when there is the least appearance of effort.

"——— stillest streams  
" Oft water fairest meadows, and the bird  
" That flutters least is longest on the wing."

Of this quotation we willingly leave to the judgment of our readers, and to the course of time, the justice and propriety of the application.—Feb. 4, 1803.



[197]

*Mr. Addington the Friend of Mr. Pitt.*

We consider Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington entirely and completely united.—That some of the friends of each have attempted repeatedly to disunite them, and that both the Old and New Opposition have never ceased to make that attempt, we know full well; but the honour, the public spirit, and the good sense of both have defeated every such attempt.—*July 31, 1802.*

On all sides, endeavours are made to separate Mr. Addington and Mr. Pitt. Some of the friends of both, we believe, to be constantly making the attempt. The Old and the New Opposition concur only in endeavouring to effect this purpose, and they are busily at work to attain their object. It is for themselves alone to frustrate such attempts.—We cannot anticipate any material difference of opinion between these two men.—If such an event should happen, we shall be the first to consider it as a great misfortune to the country; but if it does happen, when we consider the characters of the men, *we are sure, it will arise out of the fair consideration of public measures, not out of the intrigues of interested men.*—*Feb. 2, 1803.*

*Mr. Addington a great Financier.*

This great financial measure, on which we believe but one opinion prevails, has *established his reputation* in that difficult branch of public business.—*Jan. 4, 1802.*

We cannot but congratulate the country upon the *flourishing and prosperous* state of its resources, which has been proved, beyond all doubt, by the unanswerable documents brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.—*Dec. 29, 1802.*

Mr. Addington's statement of finance, we recommend to the perusal of those who have so often told us that our revenue was kept up by the war, that our resources were nearly exhausted, and that the peace was a matter of necessity.—These assertions have been often repeated—often contradicted—but *Mr. Addington's Speech is the complete answer to them.*—*Jan. 4, 1802.*

*Mr. Addington an excellent Man.*

The Jacobinical Chronicle, in one of the overflowings of its rancorous gall, generated by continued disappointment and increasing envy, has the audacity to couple the name of the excellent Addington with that of the notorious swindler Miss Robertson. We advert to this merely to shew *what the writers in that print are capable of!!!*—*Aug. 12, 1802.*

*Mr. Addington esteemed abroad.*

Our minister is *highly respected abroad.* His

*Mr. Addington the Enemy of Mr. Pitt.*

Against the principles (of Mr. Pitt and the great Earl of Chatham) and in professed opposition to their exalted system, you (Mr. Addington) have apostatized from them, and added *personal insult* to the *unworthy dereliction*. You have *stung* the heart that fostered you, and sent forth your hirelings to *blast* the character under whose benign influence you were too long sheltered. You are courting allies from the Bench which has displayed unvaried animosity for eighteen years towards the principles and person of your first friend, and have bribed to your confidence and united to your cause, *the man who directed a pistol towards the head of your early patron.*—*Nov. 12, 1803.*

It is the fashion among the friends of ministers to decry the publication, (the "Cursory Remarks,") and to circulate it. They cannot deny the falsehoods it contains, but have no objection to profit by the effect their misrepresentations may produce. So much for the *morality* of our present *precious ministers!*—*Oct. 19, 1803.*

*Mr. Addington no Financier at all.*

Ministers have produced a measure of finance, which having gone through both Houses of Parliament has passed into a law, which not a commissioner knows how to carry into effect, nor an individual in the community how to decypher or render intelligible!—*Nov. 3, 1803.*

Mr. Tierney was taken into the ministry at the particular moment, to prevent his threatened exposition of *the fallacy* of Mr. Addington's financial statements of the 10th of December; which, whatever he may be persuaded to the contrary, has not, nor ever can be forgotten, at least to the East of Temple Bar.—*Nov. 11, 1803.*

*Mr. Addington a Dupe or a Deceiver.*

We know not whether Mr. Addington be most of a *dupe* or a *deceiver*, or whether he be *sometimes one and sometimes the other.*—*Nov. 3, 1803.*

*Mr. Addington despised abroad.*

The best informed men who have lately



*talents* are of the very *first rate* description. None better than him knows the value of the blessings of peace; but if forced into a war, an event *not at all probable*, he will possess the fullest confidence of the nation. —Nov. 20, 1802.

*Mr. Addington a Safe Politician.*

Ministers took their post at a moment of imminent peril, and complicated difficulty; and by the gradual operation of steadiness, temper, fortitude, and sound wisdom, they achieved the most glorious object of a true statesman's ambition, under the circumstances in which the country was placed,—that of restoring peace on such a basis as was the best calculated to ensure its continuance. —May 18, 1802.

*Mr. Addington's Wisdom.*

Mr. Addington's great object is to repair, not to speculate. The prudence, and *enlightened wisdom*, which he has hitherto displayed, delineates a mind competent to form, and a spirit adequate to execute great plans for the benefit of his country.

We have now the solemn pledge of private and public faith, that the national revenue will be applied with economy to national purposes, in the gradual liquidation of the public incumbrances, and the encouragement of manufactures, the security of the colonies, and in the extension of trade and navigation. Disaffection vanishes at the contemplation of these great benefits. The people will be eased of their burthens, commerce must flourish, and produce such affluence, as will raise our country to the highest point of wealth, and spread its benefits throughout every class of the community. —April 5, 1802.

*Mr. Addington's Firmness.*

From the *firm principles* and unvaried conduct of Mr. Addington, in the most tremendous moments, the public must derive essential lessons of prudence. They will learn, that true magnanimity is the child of justice only, and that it is more conspicuous in the exercise of the milder virtues, than amidst the din of arms, and a nation's tears!! —April 5, 1802.

*Mr. Addington's Sound Policy.*

From Mr. Addington's conduct, the public will learn, that if it be honourable to treat with scorn a cruel and *abstract* mode of policy, it is more glorious to venerate principles which have lifted and sublimed the

arrived from the different Continental courts assure us, that, for the first time, since the burst of revolutionary politics, the general sentiment is decidedly against this country. The character of the British is lowered. Mr. Addington's administration has lost the continental possessions of his Majesty. —Nov. 10, 1803.

*Mr. Addington an Unsafe Politician.*

Ministers will find that they have *exposed the country to great sufferings*, only because they had the *vanity* to suppose themselves capable of performing the duties of offices, which they were *totally unequal to execute*. —Dec. 8, 1803.

*Mr. Addington's Ignorance.*

It is fortunate that the merchants engaged in the Portugal trade have long entertained an apprehension of the event which has now taken place. They have shewn themselves wiser politicians than our ministers. They had too little confidence, from experience, in the wisdom of our ministers to follow their advice; but notwithstanding their prudence, much British property is at this moment in Portugal. Thus does the property of individuals, and our most important commercial interests become sacrificed to the *ignorance and incapacity* of our ministry! —Oct. 16, 1803.

*Mr. Addington's Weakness.*

Our present ministers are acting under a most tremendous responsibility; but they seem determined to keep their places till the sun of Britain shall be nearly set. We look forward with a faint ray of hope to the meeting of Parliament; but, between that period and the present, what dreadful occurrences may not intervene! Heaven avert from the country the evils which the *weakness* of our ministers exposes us to! —Oct. 15, 1803.

*Mr. Addington's Weak Policy.*

The *weak policy* and wavering conduct of our ministers have furnished to the enemy the means of prosecuting the war against us with vigour for years to come. —Oct. 21, 1803.



ignity of the nation, and exalted the character of the man, whose moderation and justice have ensured its credit, stability, and honour.—*April 5, 1802.*

*Mr. Addington a Virtuous Minister.*

Without reverting to that long catalogue of glorious achievements which during the last nine years, justly entitle us to this envied precedence, we need only remark, that under such an administration as the present, we have every possible guarantee that those blessings will be preserved inviolate to the latest posterity. If these expectations should be disappointed, the fault will lie, either on the restless machinations of the worst part of the people, or in the elevation of men to ostensible situations, who neither possess the heads nor hearts of the present *virtuous ministers*, and who, consequently, can never possess an equal share of the public confidence and estimation.—*Jan. 2, 1802.*

*Mr. Addington fit for his high Station.*

A complete and perfect knowledge of the subject under consideration, marks the language and conduct of Mr. Addington on every individual occasion. In looking forward, then, what have we not to hope? Should a definitive treaty crown the labours of the cabinet, the applause of a grateful people will be his reward.—*Jan. 4, 1802.*

*Mr. Addington the Genius of Innocence.*

Thanks to our present government, we now contemplate the dawns of happiness, and humanity, rising from amidst the ruins of a world.

In short, secured by the awful sanctions of a free constitution, which is respected by a *virtuous minister*, we remain, after a nine year's war, independent, wealthy, free, and powerful. If we may be permitted to use a metaphor, *Astræa*, who had gone up to heaven for so long a time, has now come down upon earth again, and the reign of *Innocence and Concord* is revived among mankind!—*April 5, 1802.*

*Mr. Addington's Economy.*

Mr. Addington's administration is, in all respects, *most economical*. He is watchful over the public expenditure even in all its details.—*June 21, 1802.*

*Mr. Addington no Jobber.*

In filling up vacancies, Mr. Addington disregards great interests, and only consults the permanent interests of the country. He

*Mr. Addington a Political Apostate.*

Mr. Addington now finds that it is not only in finance that he is vulnerable, and he is therefore casting about for aid against the meeting of Parliament. He has partly thrown himself into the arms of the Old Opposition, and now finds it necessary to complete his *political apostasy* by an union with their leader. We shall not fail to expose the hideous policy to an indignant public.—*Nov. 11, 1803.*

From the conduct of our minister it seems not unlikely that he would *coalesce with any body*, in order to shew that he could do without the only man (Mr. Pitt) who could effectually extricate him from his difficulties.—*Oct. 29, 1803.*

*Mr. Addington unfit for his high Station.*

Mr. Addington must consider himself *fully qualified* for the *high station* he fills, or certainly he could not reconcile it to his conscience to remain there at such a moment as the present, and expose to hazard the best interests of the nation.—*Jan. 21, 1804.*

*Mr. Addington a desperate Gamester.*

Every day brings us nearer to our fate. Every hour brings forth some fresh instance of deficiency in those who are set up and appointed to encounter it. Is it that the minister has *thrown the die*, and is determined to abide the hazard of it, without reflecting that seventeen millions of people are involved in the effects of his rash temerity?—*Nov. 3, 1803.*

Our constitution will be sacrificed to a narrow and selfish policy, unknown as unresorted to by men born to govern, and our existence bartered away for a few short months of feverish power, which the minister and his colleagues have enjoyed at the expense of the people.—*Nov. 10, 1803.*

*Mr. Addington's Prodigality.*

Doctor Addington has improved upon the system of Doctor Perkins in the use of Tractors. The chief ingredient in the composition of Doctor Addington's Tractors is *gold*, and they have been found *very potent* in their operation.—*Nov. 15, 1803.*

*Mr. Addington a notorious Jobber.*

To the evils which are experienced from a weak administration, is now to be added that of almost all the inferior offices being



<sup>s</sup>huns all jobs himself, and discountenances them in others.—June 21, 1802.

*Mr. Addington's Penetration.*

In all appointments, civil, naval, or military, Mr. Addington is very select and circumspect, and takes care that the other departments are equally so.—June 21, 1802.

*Mr. Addington an Oily Statesman and a Goddess of Peace.*

*To the Right Hon. Henry Addington.*

I.

As oil the roaring-waves can tame,  
And smooth the stormy deep,  
So the soft magic of thy name,  
Lays faction's rage asleep.

II.

Great was the sage, his country thought,  
Who prov'd the former true;  
Thy country, too, severely taught,  
Will pay this debt to you.

Dec. 6, 1802.

*Acrostic on Mr. Addington.*

All the fair hopes we now in prospect view,  
Dear to Britannia, she derives from you.  
Destruction veils, once more, her hideous face;  
In sweetest smiles, and soft attractive grace,  
Now Peace her olives spreads o'er all the land,  
Gives Europe too new blessings from thy hand.  
Thy name, to virtue as to Britain dear,  
On her transcendent tablet Fame shall rear,  
Nor time nor envy cloud what all revere.

Jan. 7, 1802.

*Mr. Addington a Wise Man.*

And shall not his merits, then Britons revere,  
Who went to the helm, at his Sovereign's command;  
A pilot who prov'd he could steadily steer,  
And the vessel secure from the storm and the strand.

Who, when gloom and dejection hung over the state,  
As the orb that preserv'd us its radiance withdrew;

Brought the ship into port, through the perils of fate;  
Unsullied her flag, and in safety her crew.

Exulting, impetuous, on glory we gaze,  
And, caught by war's triumphs, scarce think of its woes;

But the pause of reflection its horrors displays,  
And the heart of humanity pants for repose.

So, ADDINGTON, proudly as Britons we burn,  
On viewing the laurels by conquest assign'd  
But with nobler delight to thy olive we turn,  
As the symbol of happiness shar'd by mankind.

O! take them—for honour with spirit maintain'd,  
For counsels, by judgment and prudence matur'd;

O! take, for the peace which thy wisdom has gain'd;

And thank thee, for the peace which thy wisdom has gain'd,  
And thank thee, for the peace which thy wisdom has gain'd.

June 10, 1802.

inadequately filled.—Mr. Addington's partiality to those connected with him, particularly if it is a family connexion, knows no bounds.—Jan. 14, 1804.

*Mr. Addington's Blindness.*

It seems to be the plan of Mr. Addington, the moment he has discovered that a person is fit for the department to which he has appointed him, to remove him to another. This shews, what is lamentably the case, that there is a great dearth of talents among the connexions of Mr. Addington.—Jan. 14, 1804.

*Mr. Addington a Common Whore.*

When Hal sat in St. Stephen's chair,  
With gentle tone and modest air,  
Old "Order" he maintain'd.  
Sometimes, perchance, he made a speech,  
Yet ventur'd not beyond his reach,  
And much applause he gain'd.

But when in Britain's evil hour,  
Pitt, her great hope, resign'd his power,  
Hal step'd into the gap;  
Humble, at first, he took a guide,  
But soon the ladder cast aside,  
A self-sufficient chap.

Though grown so confident and stont,  
At length he finds his weakness out,  
And in his seat he quakes.  
Yet rather than reform his plan,  
By counsels of "the state's best man,"  
He each apostate takes.

So have I seen a bashful maid,  
E'en of her very thoughts afraid,  
With blushes cover'd o'er;  
But once seduc'd by time and place,  
Bereft of ev'ry decent grace,  
She proves a common whore.

Oct. 12, 1803.

*Mr. Addington a Fool.*

I.

Say, what malignant, wicked fate  
Could put it in your foolish pate,  
That you could rule the nation?  
As well Sir Grig might think he's fit,  
In Speaker's chair with grace to sit,  
And fill your former station!

II.

High sounding words without the wig,  
And pompous air, and looking big,  
Are now quite out of season;  
We look in vain for scraps of sense,  
And nothing find but vain pretence,  
And words that mock our reason.

III.

Take then again the wig and gown,  
Again resume the smile and frown,  
In robes again look big—  
For folly in the man we see,  
But the gown hides it, all agree,  
And "wisdom's in the wig."

Dec. 31, 1803.



## FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

*Exposé of the State of the French Republic, laid before the Legislative Body, on the 25th Nivose, 12th Year, (16th January, 1804.)*

The Republic has been forced to change its attitude, but it has not changed its situation; it continues to preserve in the consciousness of its strength the pledge of its prosperity. Every thing was calm in the interior of France, when, at the commencement of the last year, we still entertained the hope of a durable peace. Every thing has remained calmer since a jealous power has rekindled the torches of war; but in this last epoch the union of interests and sentiments has shewn itself more full and entire; the public mind has developed itself with more energy. In the new departments, which the First Consul has traversed, he has heard, as well as in the old, the accents of a truly French indignation; he recognized in their hatred against a government hostile to our prosperity, even more than in the bursts of public joy and personal affection, their attachment to the country, and their devotion to his destiny. In all the departments the ministers of worship have exerted the influence of religion to consecrate this spontaneous movement of the minds of individuals. Depôts of arms, which fugitive rebels had committed to the earth, in order to take them up again at a future opportunity, which a culpable foresight suggested to them, have been disclosed at the first signal of the danger, and delivered to the magistrates for the purpose of arming our defenders. The British government will attempt to throw, and perhaps has already thrown, on our coasts some of these monsters whom it nourished in its bosom during the peace, in order to tear in pieces the land which gave them birth; but they will no longer find in it those impious bands which were the instruments of their former crimes; terror has dissolved them, or justice has purged our territory of them; they will find neither that credulity which they abused, nor that animosity, the poignards of which they whetted. Experience has enlightened every mind; the moderation of the laws, and the administration of them has reconciled every heart. Surrounded every where by the public force, overtaken every where by the tribunals, these dreadful men will in future neither be able to make rebels, nor to re-organize with impunity their horde of brigands and assassins. It is but now that a miserable attempt has been made in La Vendée; the conscription was made the pretext for it; but citizens, priests, soldiers, all classes exerted themselves for the common defence; those who in other times were the movers of disturbances, came to

offer their aid to the public authority, and to give their persons and their families, as pledges of their fidelity and devotion. Finally, what characterizes, above all things, the security of the citizens, the return of social affections, beneficence displays itself every day more and more. On every side donations are offered to the unfortunate, and foundations are made for useful establishments. The war has not interrupted the intentions of the peace; and the government has pursued with constancy every thing that tends to establish the constitution in the manners and disposition of the citizens, every thing likely to attach all interests and all hopes to its duration. Thus, the senate has been placed in that elevation to which its institution called it, an endowment such as the constitution had fixed, encircles it with an imposing grandeur. The legislative body will no longer appear, except surrounded with the majesty, which its functions demand; it will no longer be looked for in vain, except in its sitting. An annual president will be the centre of its motion and the organ of its thoughts and its wishes, in its relations with the government. This body will have at length that dignity which could not exist with forms changeable and undetermined. The electoral colleges have conducted themselves every where with that calmness and wisdom which secures happy elections. The legion of honour exists in the higher parts of its organization, and in a part of the elements which are to compose it. These elements still equal, await from a final choice, their functions, and their places. How many honourable traits have been displayed by the ambition of being admitted into it. What treasures will the republic have in this institution to encourage and recompense service and virtues. In the council of state, another institution proposed for the choice of the government men for all the superior branches of administration: auditors are formed there in the laboratories of regulations and laws; they perpetuate themselves there with the maxims and principles of public order. Always surrounded with witnesses and judges, often under the eyes of the government, often on important missions, they will arrive at the public functions with the maturity of experience, and with the security which is given by a character, a conduct, and a skill proved by repeated trials. Lyceums and secondary schools are erecting on every side, and are not yet erected with sufficient rapidity to satisfy the impatience of the citizens. Common regulations, a common discipline, the same system of instruction, are forming in the generations which will support the glory of France by



their talents, and its institutions by their principles and their virtues. A single *prytaneum*, the prytaneum of St. Cyr, receives the children of those citizens who died for their country. Education already breathes forth there a military enthusiasm. At Fontainebleau, the special military school numbers many hundreds of soldiers who are rendered pliant to discipline, and inured to fatigue, and who acquire with the habits of the profession the knowledge of the art. The school of Compiègne presents the aspect of a vast manufactory, where five hundred young persons pass from their studies to the workshops, and from the workshops to their studies. After a few months they execute with the precision of skill, works which could not have been obtained from them after years of a common apprenticeship; and in a short time commerce and industry will enjoy the benefit of their labour, and of the cares of the government. The engineers and the artillery have now but one school, and one common institution. Medicine is every where submitted to the new regime, which the law prescribed to it. By a salutary reform, means have been found to simplify the expense and to add to the instruction. The exercise of pharmacy has been put under the care of skill and probity. A regulation has placed between master and workman, judges who terminate their differences with the rapidity which their interests and their wants require; and at the same time with the impartiality which justice demands. The civil code is approaching to completion; and in the course of this session the last projects of laws which are to complete it altogether will be in a state to be submitted to the deliberations of the legislative body. The judicial code, called for by every wish, is at this moment undergoing the discussions which are to conduct it to its maturity. The criminal code is in a state of advancement; and that part of it which circumstances appear to call for most imperiously, are in a condition to receive the seal of the law in the next session. New *chefs d'œuvre* are come to embellish our museums; and, whilst the rest of Europe envies our treasures, our young artists continue still to go into the bosom of Italy to kindle the fire of their genius, with the view of its great monuments, and to respire the enthusiasm which produced them. In the department of Marengo, under the walls of that Alexandria, which will be one of the strongest bulwarks of France, the first camp of our veterans is formed. There they will keep up the recollection of their exploits, and the pride of their victories. They will inspire their new fellow-citizens with love and respect for that cour-

try which they have extended, and which has rewarded them. They will leave in their children heirs of their courage, and new defenders of that country whose benefits they will enjoy. In the ancient territory of the republic, in Belgium, old fortifications, which were no longer any thing but useless monuments of the misfortunes of our forefathers, or of the progressive growth of France, will be demolished. The lands which had been sacrificed to their defence, will be restored to culture and commerce; and with the funds arising from these demolitions, and these lands, new fortresses will be constructed on our new frontiers. The tax for the support of the public roads has received a new increase, under a better system of adjudication. Farmers, from year to year, were without emulation; farmers of too small portions were without fortune, and without security. Triennial adjudications, and adjudications of a number of barriers together, have invited a greater number of bidders, richer and more enterprising. The tolls on the highway have produced 15 millions in the year eleven: ten millions more have been appropriated within the same year to the repairs and completion of the roads. The old roads have been kept up and repaired: some of the roads have been connected with others by new roads. From this year forth carriages can pass the Simplon and Mount Cenis. Three broken arches have been rebuilt in the bridge at Tours. New bridges are erecting at Cabel, Boanne, Nemours, and on the rivers Isere, Roubion, Durance, and Rhine. A communication is to be opened between Avignon and Villeneuve, by a bridge undertaken by a private company. Three bridges were begun at Paris with funds contributed by some of the citizens; two have been in part completed with the public money; and the tolls to be collected thereon afford a security for the payment of the interest and principal of the sum advanced in a certain number of years. The third, the most interesting of all (that of the botanic garden), is in progress, and will soon be completed. It will relieve the interior of Paris from a fatiguing circuitous communication, and will lead to a splendid space or square, a long time ordered for sale, which is to be ornamented with plantations, and the waters of the river Ourcq, and on which the street St. Antoine, and that of its suburb, are to terminate in a direct line. The bridge alone will constitute a source of expense, which the tolls proposed to be collected on it will rapidly cover. The square and all its appurtenances will cost the state only the ground and the ruins on which it is to be formed. The works of the ca-



and which leave in age, and use bene- territory fortifica- thing but es of our growth of he lands defence, mmerce; se demo- esses will rs. The roads has etter sys- from year farmers fortune, adjudica- er of bar- r number erprising. duced 15 millions ithin the olution of een kept ads have ew roads. pass the e broken bridge at t Cabel, ers Isere, A com- Avignon taken by were be- by some art com- the toll ury for nicipal of mber of esting of s in pro- It will fatiguing will lead ong time ammented the river Antoine, nate in a ll consti- tolls pro- ly cover. will cost ruins on f the ca-

nal of St. Quintin are carrying on in four different points at the same time. A subterranean cut, a thousand meters in extent, has already been completed, two locks are finished, eight more are in a state of forwardness, some others are rising from their foundations, and this vast undertaking will in some years afford a complete navigation. The canals of Arles, Aigues-Mortes, the Soane, and the Yonne, the canal that is to connect the Rhone with the Rhine, and that which is to extend the navigation by the Blavet to the centre of ancient Britany, are all begun, and will all be completed within a period proportioned to the labours they require. The canal which is to connect the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhine, is yet only in the contemplation of the government: compensation has been made for the site: funds are already provided for the execution of an undertaking, which will open Germany to us, and restore to our commerce and industry such parts of our own territories as were by their situation consigned to the industry and commerce of foreigners. The junction of the Rance with the Vilaine, will connect the channel with the ocean, will convey prosperity and civilization to districts, in which agriculture and the arts languish, in which their rustic manners are still unacquainted with our refinements. From this year, considerable sums are appropriated to this operation. The draining of the marshes of Rochfort, often undertaken, and as often abandoned, goes on without interruption. A million will be applied this year to promote the salubrity of this port, which used to destroy our sailors and its own inhabitants. Culture and population will extend themselves over tracts devoted for ages to diseases and desolation. A project of draining, in the centre of the Cotentin, no less important, the plan of which is formed, and the expense of which, calculated on a great scale, will unavoidably be repaid by the result of the undertaking, will transform into rich pasture lands other marshes of a vast extent, which are at present only an everlasting source of contagion. The funds requisite for this operation are comprehended in the budget for the year twelve. At the same time a bridge over the Vire will unite the departments of La Manche and Calvados, will put a stop to a passage always dangerous, and often fatal, and will shorten the route from Paris to Cherbourg by some myriameters. A canal is planned in another quarter of the department of La Manche (the Channel), which will convey the sea and fertility to a barren district, and will yield to public buildings and to the marine timber, that now decays without

being used a few myriameters from the coast. On all the canals, on every part of the coast of Belgium, the banks which had been undermined by time, or impaired by the sea, are in a state of repair, of being extended and strengthened. The bank and bason of Ostend are secured from waste: a bridge will open a communication of importance to the city; and agriculture will draw riches from a valuable tract recovered from the sea. An werp has seen a military post, an arsenal, and ships of war upon the stocks, produced at once by a decree. Two millions, secured on the sale of national domains situated in the departments of the Scheldt and Deux-Nethes, are appropriated to the restoration and augmentation of its ancient port. On the credit of this security, commerce makes advances, the works are begun, and will be completed next year. At Boulogne, at Havre, in every point of this coast, which our enemies have heretofore called an iron coast, great works are in progress or completed. The Mole of Cherbourg, a long time given up, long the object of solicitude and doubt, rises at length from the bosom of the waters, and is already a source of destruction to our enemies and a protection to our own mariners. Under shelter of this Mole, at the extremity of an immense road, an haven is now digging, where, in a few years, the Republic will have its arsenals and its fleets. At Rochelle, at Cette, at Marseilles, and at Nice, the ravages of carelessness and of time are repaired with well secured funds. It is in our maritime cities in particular, where the stagnation of commerce has multiplied misfortunes and wants, that the wisdom of government has employed itself in creating resources by useful and necessary works. The navigation in the interior was in a state of decay, from a forgetfulness of principles and regulations; it is henceforth subjected to a tutelary and conservative regime. A duty is appropriated to its support, to the works it requires; to the improvements which the public interest demands: submitted to the superintendence of the Prefects, it has also in the Chamber of Commerce useful guardians, witnesses, and estimators of the proper application of the funds it produces; in short, enlightened men to appreciate the plans formed for its preservation or extension. The right of fishing in navigable rivers has again become, what it ought always to be, a public property. It is committed to the care of the administration of the forests; and the triennial adjudications give it, in the farmers, still more active guardians, because they are more interested. The last has been a year of prosperity for all our finances: the collection has happily disap-



pointed the calculation that had been made before-hand of their produce. The direct contributions have been collected with more ease. The operations which were to establish the respective proportions of the tax on property of the different departments, proceed with rapidity. The subdivision will become invariable. We shall never again witness that opposition of different interests which corrupted public justice, and that jealous rivalry which threatened the industry and prosperity of all the departments. The Prefects, the General Council, have requested that the same operation should extend to all the communes of their departments, for the purpose of ascertaining amongst them the grounds of a proportional subdivision. An *arrêté* of government has authorised this general operation, become more simple, more economical by the success of the partial operation. Thus, in a few years all the Communes of the Republic, will have each in a particular table, the plan of its territory, the divisions are the proportions of the properties that compose it; and the General Councils, and the Councils of the *arrondissements* will find in the junctions of all those plans, the elements of a division just in its principles and constant in its proportions. The sinking fund fulfils with constancy and fidelity its destination. Already in possession of a portion of the public debt, it every day accumulates a treasure, which secures to the state a speedy liquidation: a rigid responsibility and inviolable fidelity have rendered the administrators worthy of the confidence of government, and insures to them the interest of the citizens. The melting down of the coin is carried on without bustle or shock; it was a scourge while the principles were misunderstood; it is become the most simple operation, since public faith and the rules of good sense have adjusted its conditions. At the Treasury, the public credit has maintained itself in the midst of the shocks of war, and the rumours of interested individuals. The public Treasury supplied the expenses of the Colonies, either by direct remittances, or by operations on the Continent of America. The administrators were enabled, if the remittances proved insufficient, to obtain a supply by drafts on the public Treasury; but conformably to prescribed forms, and to a limited extent. A mass of drafts (amounting to two millions) had been suddenly created at St. Domingo, without the consent of government, and out of all proportion to present or future wants.—Men without character have hawked them at the Havannah, at Jamaica, in the United States; they have been every where exposed in the market to shameful reduction,

delivered up to men who had not deposited either money or merchandize, and who were not to furnish value till the payment should have been made at the public treasury. Hence a scandalous reduction in America, hence a jobbing still more scandalous in Europe. Here the government imposes on itself, a rigorous duty, to put a stop to the course of this imprudent measure, to save the nation the losses with which it was menaced, and above all to redeem its credit by a just severity. An agent of the public treasury was dispatched to St. Domingo, charged to check the books, and the chest of the Pay-Master General; to ascertain how many drafts had been created, on what authority, and in what form; how many had been negotiated, and on what conditions: whether they had been negotiated for real value, or without effective value; or whether to discharge real debts, or to fulfil feigned contracts.—Eleven millions in drafts which were not yet in circulation were cancelled; some information has been obtained as to the others. The drafts whose full value had been received, were paid off with interest from the day they became due to the day of payment. Those that were issued without effective value, have been proved false, in as much as the bills bear the words for money advanced, though the *procès-verbal* of payment proves that none had been advanced: these have been submitted to a severe examination. Thus the government will satisfy the justice which it owes to the lawful creditors, and which it owes to the nation, whose rights it is bound to defend.—Peace was in the wishes and in the intentions of the government. It had wished for it amidst the yet uncertain chances of war; it had wished for it in the midst of victories. It was to the prosperity of the republic that it henceforth attached all its glory. At home it awakened industry, it encouraged the arts, it undertook either useful works, or monuments of national grandeur. Our vessels were scattered over every sea, and reposed on the faith of treaties. They were employed only in restoring our colonies to France and to happiness; there was no armament in our ports, nothing menacing on our frontiers. And this was the moment which the British government chose to alarm its nation, to cover the Channel with ships, to insult our commerce by injurious inspections, and our coasts and ports, as well as those of our allies, by the presence of its menacing forces.—If on the 17th Ventôse of the 11th year (March 8, 1803), there existed an extraordinary armament in the ports of France and Hol-



[213] and; if a single preparation was made in them to which the most remote suspicion could give a sinister interpretation, then we are the aggressors; the message of the King of England, and his hostile attitude have been rendered necessary, by a legitimate precaution; and the English people had a right to believe that we threatened their independence, their religion, their constitution: but if the assertions of the message were false, if they were contradicted by the opinion of Europe, as well as by the conscience of the British government, then that government have deceived their nation; they have deceived it by precipitating it, without reflection, into a war, the terrible effects of which now begin to be felt in England, and the results of which may be decisive of its future destiny. The aggressor, however, ought alone to answer for the calamities which afflict humanity. Malta, the cause of this war, was in the power of the English; it remained with France to arm to effect its independence; France waited in silence for the justice of England; and it was England who began the war, even without a declaration.—By the dispersion of our ships, and the security of our commerce, our losses might have been immense: we foresaw these circumstances, and we would have supported them without discouragement or weakness, but happily they have been less than we apprehended: our ships of war have returned to European ports, one only excepted, which had long been employed merely as a transport, has fallen into the hands of the enemy. Of two hundred millions, which the English cruizers might have ravished from our commerce, more than two-thirds have been preserved. Our privateers have avenged these losses by important captures, and they will complete their revenge by others more important. Tobago and St. Lucia were defenceless, and were obliged to surrender to the first force which appeared; but our great colonies are yet preserved, and the attacks made against them by the enemy have proved fruitless. Hanover is in our power; 25,000 of the best troops of the enemy have laid down their arms and become prisoners of war. Our cavalry has been mounted at the expense of that of the enemy; and a possession which was dear to the King of England, is in our hands, a pledge of that justice which he will be compelled to render to us.—On the seas, British despotism daily adds to its usurpation; in the last war it struck terror into the neutral nations, by arrogating to itself an inimical and revolting pretension of declaring whole states in a state of siege: in the present

war, it has augmented its monstrous code by the pretended right of blockading rivers and canals.—If the King of England has sworn to continue the war till he shall have reduced France to sign such dishonourable treaties as ill fortune and weakness formerly signed, then the war will be long. France consented in the treaty of Amiens to moderate conditions; she will never acknowledge any less favourable—nay more, she will never acknowledge in the British government the right of fulfilling its engagements only as may suit the progressive calculations of its ambition, nor the right of requiring further guarantees after the guarantee of faith plighted. But if the treaty of Amiens has not been executed, how can we expect, in regard to a new one, a faith more holy, or oaths more sacred? Louisiana is henceforth united to the American States; we shall preserve friends there whose remembrance of a common origin will always attach them to our interest, while favourable commercial relations will unite their prosperity with ours. The United States are indebted to France for their independence; they will henceforth owe to us their strength and grandeur. Spain remains neutral. Helvetia is re-established in her constitution, which has suffered no change, but what has been rendered necessary by lapse of time, and change of opinions. The retreat of our troops from that country is a proof of its internal security, and of the end of its dissensions. The ancient treaties have been renewed, and France has regained her oldest and most faithful ally. Peace reigns in Italy; a division of the army of the Italian Republic is at this time crossing France to encamp with our own on the sea coast. These battalions will there meet with innumerable vestiges of that patience, bravery, and heroism which distinguished their ancestors. The Ottoman Empire, fatigued by undermining intrigues, will gain by the interests of France the support which ancient alliances, a recent treaty, and its geographical position give it a right to demand. The tranquillity given to the Continent by the treaty of Luneville, is secured by the last acts of the Diet of Ratisbon. The enlightened interest of the great powers, the fidelity of the French Government, in cultivating with them relations of good will and friendship; the justice, the energy of the nation, and the forces of the Republic will guarantee it. (Signed) *Buonaparte*.

By order of the First Consul, *H. B. Maret*.

*Legislative Body.*

*Presidency of Fontanes, Jan. 17.*

After the adoption of the proces verbal, the Counsellors of State, Bergouen, Dauchy, and Sainte Suzanne, were introduced as orators.



tors of the Government, charged to present to the Legislative Body the Exposé of the state of the Republic.

Citizen Dauchy read this Exposé as above; when it was concluded, the President replied to the orators of the Government in the following terms:

"Citizens Counsellors of State, the Legislative Body has never looked to any thing but the interests of the country, and those of the Government which at this day can no longer be different. It has constantly sought, in the constitution, its duties rather than its privileges; it occupied itself about the nation, and not about itself; and it thought itself sufficiently great as often as it was useful. It promises never to change. Gratitude can add nothing to its zeal; and of all the advantages it can derive from a new organization, it is the first in its eyes, to display, with more splendour and authority, those principles by which it was always governed.—The picture which you have drawn of our internal situation, is encouraging as it is faithful. The Government does not deceive the French people. Its deputies who hear you, assembled here from all the departments, acknowledge individually the benefits of which you have presented to us the sum. They have seen what you have depicted, and all the voices of France raise themselves in some measure in this assembly to bear testimony to the truth of your discoveries. Citizens Counsellors of State, the Legislative Body, in conformity with the terms of the 30th article of the 5th head of the organic *Senatus Consultum* of the 18th of December last, is about to form itself into a general committee to examine the importance of the message which you have submitted to it, and to come to resolutions worthy of itself, and of the Government which sends you."

It was moved, that the Exposé which had been communicated to the Legislative Body, should be ordered to be printed. The printing was ordered.

*Correspondence between the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and the Earl of Fingall.*

Dublin, 15th Aug. 1803.

MY LORD,—According to your lordship's request I have signed, with great pleasure, a warrant for your lordship's appointment to be justice of the peace for the county of Meath. At this moment, my lord, it is peculiarly important that every person entrusted specially with the preservation of the public peace, should know and conscientiously pursue the strict line of his duty. Your lordship's distinguished loyalty at all times, and on all occasions,

leaves me no room to doubt that you will exert yourself to the best of your judgment for this important purpose, and the same distinguished loyalty that probably marked your lordship, as one to whom nothing could be safely uttered, tending to demonstrate any disposition towards the rebellious outrages which have of late produced such dreadful effects, and excited so much alarm. But, I fear there have been too many in whose presence and hearing demonstrations have been made and uttered, which ought to have alarmed the minds of loyal men, and induced them to communicate the ground of that alarm to those in authority under the government, and especially to the justices of the peace in their several districts, but who have thought fit to retain the impression made on their minds within their own breasts, and to leave the chance of discovery to other means. The persons to whom I allude, have principally been persons professing to hold the same religious faith with your lordship—and over whom I most sincerely hope your lordship's high character may give that influence which justly belongs to it. It would be highly important, therefore, that your lordship, in the discharge of your duty as a magistrate, should take every opportunity of clearly stating, and most strongly inculcating and enforcing the great duty of allegiance, and that, that duty is not confined to forbearance from open rebellion, or even from acts tending towards rebellion, that true allegiance is an active duty, requiring every man not only to suppress rebellion when it shall shew itself in violence, but to disclose to that government under which he lives, whether he be a natural born subject of that government or sojourner only under its protection, every thing which can raise ground for suspicion of disloyalty in others; and it is particularly important that your lordship should, as a magistrate, state and enforce, that persons knowing of a treasonable purpose who do not disclose it, are guilty in the eye of the law of that crime which has been denominated misprision of treason, and if they yield any kind of assent to the intended treason, they become traitors themselves. Your lordship's enlarged and liberal mind, distinguishing clearly between spiritual and temporal concerns, must feel that there can be no duty of religion contrary to the duty of allegiance, and indeed no man, however ignorant or prejudiced, can read the holy scriptures without finding that the duty of allegiance to a Pagan government, was strongly and repeatedly enforced by Christ and his apostles, and especially by the latter, who found the



[217]  
 Christians of their time too much disposed to consider their faith in Christ, as absolving them from their allegiance to the country in which they lived. I am truly sorry to say, that I fear in this country all who profess to be ministers of the gospel of Christ, do not teach Christ's doctrine of allegiance to their flocks, and I particularly lament to find in the minds of men who assume the highest rank amongst the ministers of the Roman persuasion, the frequent use of language tending to raise in the minds of the ignorant, an opinion that none are to be considered as members of the Catholic Church of Christ, that none are therefore to be esteemed as brethren in Christ, but those who profess adherence to the See of Rome. Until the minds of men are brought to a different temper—until the priests of the Roman persuasion shall cease to inculcate to those under their instruction, doctrines so repugnant to their temporal allegiance—until they shall cease to inculcate that all who differ from them in religious opinions, are to be considered as guilty of defection from the See of Rome, that is as guilty of rebellion (including his Majesty's sacred person in that description), it cannot be expected that vulgar men should think themselves bound by any tie of allegiance to a king thus represented to them, as himself guilty of a breach of what is termed a higher duty of allegiance. That liberty of conscience which those of the Roman persuasion desire for themselves, they ought to allow to others, and they do not allow that liberty of conscience, but on the contrary sanction the worst of persecutions wherever they treat any man sincerely believing in Christ the Redeemer of mankind, as not a member of the Catholic Universal Church founded by Christ and his apostles, because that man does not believe all that they believe of the See of Rome and of the doctrines taught by it. I can consider no man (whatever his profession of loyalty may be) as truly the loyal subject of a king whom he thus holds up to his people as the object of disaffection, nay of hatred, because that king holds a different opinion in matters of religion from those who adhere to the See of Rome, and because he refuses any obedience in matters temporal to that See. It will be your duty, my lord, as a justice of the peace, with the most anxious attention, to respect no man whose conduct shall tend to disturb it; to exhort all men by patience and forbearance, as well as by exertion, to use their utmost endeavour to preserve it, and however anxiously they may wish for a change in the establishment provided for by the law of the land for

the maintenance of religion, however conscientiously they may think that the ends of religion would be better answered by putting those of the Romish persuasion in place of those of the Catholic faith, they cannot, consistently with the duty of their allegiance, pursue that purpose by abetting, or even by declining to resist and suppress the rebellious conspiracy formed for that purpose. —I have no doubt that the firm and distinguished loyalty which has marked your lordship's character in every other situation of life, will guide your steps in the discharge of your duties as a magistrate. —May God, to whom all our errors and imperfections are known, protect and guard you, and lead you to that end which will most accord with the beneficent purposes for which the office of magistracy were intended, and for which alone, I am persuaded, you prevail on yourself to undertake so arduous a charge under circumstances of so much difficulty. —I have the honour to be, with the most sincere respect and esteem. —My lord, your lordship's faithful humble servant, (Signed) REDESDALE.

Aug. 13, 1803.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to receive your Lordship's letter, and am much obliged to you for appointing me a magistrate of the county of Meath, at a time when the task is so arduous. I must beg leave to assure you, that nothing but my most anxious desire to be useful by every means in my power, would have induced me to solicit the commission of the peace. Permit me to return your Lordship my best thanks for the very able and excellent instructions contained in your letter—it shall be my unceasing endeavour to prove myself not unworthy the post of trust confided to me, for which I should feel myself very ill qualified if I did not understand the duties of active loyalty to be such as are laid down by your Lordship. I have always been taught that, that man was a traitor and violated his allegiance who concealed any plot against the state—to this opinion all those who profess the same religious faith that I do are bound by the most solemn pledge. I am sorry any have deviated from it, they cannot be, I am persuaded, those remarkable for their religious and good conduct.—It gives me much concern, and I should be very sorry it were generally conceived, that your Lordship, the person to whom the Catholics of another part of the United Kingdom never cease expressing their obligations; with your superior talents, enlightened and liberal mind, holding the high situation you do in this country, with so much credit to yourself and advantage to the public, should have



any opinion in any degree unfavourable of the Irish Catholics. My Lord, the Catholic religion is the same every where; I very reluctantly enter upon the subject. Religious disputes I have always considered the greatest misfortunes any country could experience. I must, however, beg leave to state to your Lordship what I have always found to be the conduct and faith of the Catholic. I need not speak of his attachment to and respect for an oath; were he less delicate, why should he labour under any exclusion now, or have suffered many years of penal restriction. I must say I never heard a Catholic wish for the overthrow of the Protestant establishment, and setting up in its place one of his own religion—this was not, as is well ascertained, the object of the promoter of the rebellion in 1798; nor do I believe it was of the ruffians and murderers who disgraced this country on a late occasion.—The Catholic is ready at this moment to sacrifice his life, his property, every thing dear to him in support of the present constitution, in defence of that beloved Sovereign to whom your Lordship does not seem to think we look up with that veneration and gratitude which I assure you we do.—The Catholic wishes no other family on the throne, no other constitution, but certainly wishes to be admitted, whenever it shall be deemed expedient, to a full share in the benefits and blessings of that happy constitution under which we live—a participation which, I trust, we have and shall continue to prove ourselves not undeserving of. Catholic loyalty and allegiance, I need not tell your Lordship, would oblige every one of that persuasion to resist or repel even the head of the see of Rome, were it possible to suppose that the usurper, who now disturbs the peace of the world, would send him here with his invading army. My Lord, the doctrine of allegiance is perfectly understood, and unceasingly preached by the Catholic clergy. I have just seen an address in the newspapers, from Dr. Coppinger to his flock at Cloyne, in which Catholic principles and allegiance are much more fully explained and inculcated than I could attempt doing. The late exhortation of the Rev. Dr. Troy, in Dublin, your Lordship has probably seen, and his character for distinguished loyalty is known to every one. In 1796, when Hoche's fleet were in Bantry Bay, the Rev. Dr. Moylan published an address to his people in Cork, for which, had the French landed, he would undoubtedly have lost his head. Surely, my Lord, solemn pledges and distinguished acts of loyalty are the best proofs that can be given.—I have, my Lord, taken the liberty of

stating to your Lordship what I consider Catholic principles and Catholic conduct. Standing in the situation I do, I feel it my duty to vindicate the Catholics from any unfavourable opinion entertained. That your Lordship should know and properly appreciate their sentiments and conduct is my only aim, and would be, I am sure, highly gratifying to them.—I beg pardon for trespassing so long on your Lordship; but when there is a question of the conduct and opinions of so large a portion of his Majesty's subjects, at a time that every man is wanting to defend the empire, you will, I trust, excuse me; and I think I could not give your Lordship a better proof that I shall endeavour to merit the good opinion you are so kind as to entertain of me, which I hope I shall never forfeit.—&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) FINGALL.

Dublin, Aug. 21, 1803.

MY LORD,—Many parts of your Lordship's letter have given me much pain. I have no doubt that your Lordship has every feeling of Christian charity towards those who differ from you in religious opinion; but I have daily experience, that the same charity does not prevail amongst a great many who profess to be of the same religious persuasion as your Lordship. I am fully persuaded that the want of true Christian charity, one towards the other, has been the real cause of all the unfortunate events which have of late disgraced this country; and I think it the duty of every man, however he may differ in points of faith from others, to endeavour to impress the great doctrine of Christian charity on the minds of all as the only means of restoring peace to this distracted country. Your Lordship seems to imagine that those inhabitants of Ireland, who adhere in matters of faith to the doctrines of the See of Rome, are disposed to discontent; because, as your Lordship is pleased to express yourself, they are not admitted to a full share of the benefits and blessings of the happy constitution under which they live. If your Lordship means they are discontented, because they are not admitted to be members of either house of Parliament; or to hold certain great offices; or because they are excluded from the throne; I must confess, I cannot believe that the lower orders of the people in Ireland, amongst whom the ferment principally prevails, have any anxiety on the subject, except as it may be raised in their minds by others; and your Lordship must allow that no disturbances, of the same description, are excited amongst the Quakers, who certainly are liable to more disabilities, for conscience sake, than those of which your Lordship complains. I am afraid, or rather, I am persuaded, that the difference arises from the different temper given to their minds by their religious instructors: that the Quaker is taught to live in charity with all men, whilst those who follow the See of Rome are unfortunately taught a very confined charity, being told they are exclusively members of the church of Christ: and those whose minds have not been enlarged by education or habit, feel it difficult to conceive how those whom they are taught to consider as not members of the church, can be deemed Christians; and accordingly, your Lordship will find upon inquiry, that the appellation of heathen



I consider  
ic conduct.  
I feel it my  
s from any  
That your  
berly appre-  
duct is my  
ure, highly  
pardon for  
rdship; but  
conduct and  
his Majes-  
very man is  
you will, I  
I could not  
roof that I  
ood opinion  
me, which  
&c. &c. &c.

INGALL.  
y. 21, 1803.  
ordship's let-  
ave no doubt  
of Christian  
m yon in re-  
erence, that  
ong-t a great  
religious per-  
ly persuaded  
rity, one to  
use of all the  
te disgraced  
uty of every  
ints of faith  
ss the great  
minds of all  
to this dis-  
ems to im-  
who adhere  
of the See of  
because, as  
elf, they are  
benefits and  
under which  
they are dis-  
mitted to be  
t; or to hold  
are excluded  
not believe  
in Ireland  
ally prevail-  
pt as it may  
; and your  
nces, of the  
t the Quakers  
abilities, for  
your Lord-  
ather, I am  
from the dis-  
y their reli-  
is taught  
those who  
ely taught  
y are exclu-  
Christ: and  
enlarged by  
to conceiv-  
consider  
emed Chris-  
ip will find  
heathen

applied by those, to every Protestant. If those who are considered as holding a higher rank in the priesthood used their influence to correct this impression on the minds of the lower orders, we might hope, that by degrees they might be taught to consider all who believe in Christ as their Redeemer, though not adhering to the See of Rome, as their brethren in Christ; but unfortunately that is not the case. Dr. Troy in his pastoral instruction on the duties of Christian citizens, published in 1793, holds up high, the exclusive doctrine; which those who think humility a Christian virtue, in all respects most becoming so weak and fallible a creature as man, cannot but consider as favouring of presumption. Dr. Hussey, in his pastoral letter, published in 1797, expresses himself in a stronger language; and, indeed, it is difficult for a loyal subject to read that publication, without feeling, that, especially at the time of its appearance, it could not tend to produce loyalty, or even submission to the government of the country, in the minds of those to whom it was addressed. Whilst such impressions, so excited, are rankling in the minds of men, very little regard can be paid to addresses of the nature to which your Lordship refers me. They are given to the winds, as long as the priests of the See of Rome shall think fit to hold up to their flocks, that all who do not yield obedience to that See, are guilty of rebellion against it; are not to be considered as members of the church of Christ; and therefore are not (in the eyes of the vulgar at least) to be considered as Christians. I am fully persuaded, that those who listen to their doctrines, will never bear Christian charity towards those who are so represented; and will never be loyal and dutiful subjects of a king, thus held out to them as himself a rebel.—In fine, my Lord, those who clamour for liberty of conscience, which in truth they have), must be taught to allow liberty of conscience to others; and those who desire complete participation, must treat those with whom they desire to participate as brothers. Until, therefore, the priests of the Romish persuasion shall think it their duty to preach, honestly and conscientiously, the great doctrine of universal charity in Christ; until they shall, in all their instructions to those under their care, represent, honestly and conscientiously, all who sincerely believe in Christ, the Redeemer of mankind, to be brethren in Christ, however mistaken they may suppose any of them to be in certain points of faith; until they shall teach their flocks that desiring liberty to think for themselves, they ought also to permit others to think for themselves, and not to murder them, because they differ in religious opinions; peace never can be established in the land; and the loyal addresses of Dr. Troy and Dr. Coppinger will, as I have before said, be given to the winds. They can have no effect; they may indeed reach the eyes or the ears, but never will enter the hearts, of those to whom they are addressed. There are parts of your letter to which I will not advert, because I cannot do so without pain, or without giving pain.—I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

REDESDALE.

August 27, 1803.

My Lord,—I feel indeed much concern that any part of the letter I had the honour of addressing to your Lordship, should have given you pain. You need not, I hope, my Lord, any assurance that nothing could be more foreign to my intentions. This I took the liberty of repeating Mr. Wickham, whom I had the honour of seeing this morning, to do me the favour of

mentioning to your Lordship on the earliest occasion. I merely stated to your Lordship what my own feelings were, and what I have always found to be the opinion of the Catholics. I do not apprehend, that in expressing any further wish of the Catholic body, which it is impossible should not be entertained, I hinted at any discontents; on the contrary, I did assure, and do now assure your Lordship, we are now ready to make every sacrifice, encounter every danger, for the defence of the King and Constitution, and for the preservation of the peace. Those who are most affected by any remaining restrictions, it is well known have never excited clamour or tumult; but have always been foremost in opposing them. I cannot attempt to vindicate all those who have at different times addressed the Catholics; but the late exhortations, I must beg leave to say, are intended and calculated to inspire sentiments of loyalty, obedience, and Christian charity: and they will, I trust, have that effect. Such have been the instructions I have constantly heard given by the Catholic clergy to their flocks.—Nothing to excite ill-will or dislike to any person on account of his religious belief, but the most perfect brotherly love and affection to all. Your Lordship will, I hope, allow me to repeat my regret that any thing I have written should have given you pain, or me reason to feel it, which I should in a very high degree indeed, if I was conscious of having intentionally advanced any thing that would appear improper or unreasonable to your Lordship.—I have the honour to be, &c.

FINGALL.

Dublin, 28th Aug. 1803.

My Lord,—The high respect and esteem I bear for your lordship, whose loyalty and humanity have been at all times conspicuous, and the manner in which your lordship, in the letter with which I was honoured yesterday, has expressed your regret, that any part of your former letter should have given me pain, compels me again to trouble your lordship with a few words. The pain I felt arose from an apprehension that I could not hope for such a change in the sentiments of those of the people of Ireland, who adhere to the See of Rome, towards those who refuse obedience to it, as might lead to their living together in peace. In some parts of Europe, misfortune appears to have produced so much of humility, that the persons, who have occupied the choice of that See, have been inclined to bend towards countries in which some of its most important pretensions have been rejected; and in this state of humiliation, it might have been hoped that a sense of the weakness and imperfections of man might have been so far felt, as to lead the adherents to that See, in Ireland, no longer to teach their followers a doctrine so repugnant (as it appears to me) to the repose of mankind, as that to which I had alluded in my letter. I conclude from your lordship's letter to me, that there is no person amongst the adherents of the See of Rome, in Ireland, whose mind, however cultivated, however liberal in other respects, can be thought to consider any persons as christians, who refuse obedience to that See. I conclude also, that the priests of that persuasion still teach their flocks, that all who refuse obedience, are guilty of a wicked rebellion against divine authority, which must produce their eternal damnation in the next world, and render them objects of horror and dislike in this. As long as this doctrine (which, with all humility I say it, appears to me to be repugnant to every idea of christian charity taught by the scriptures) shall be preached to their congre-



gations; and until those congregations shall be taught that Protestants of every description, although in their opinion in error on certain points, are to be considered as members of the Church of Christ, and their brethren in the faith of Christ, it seems to me, *that there can be no hope that exhortations to loyalty and obedience to a protestant government will have any effect.* Men of education and property may feel loyalty and obedience to such a government to be proper, or at least expedient; but preaching to men of the lower orders, and especially to those without property, loyalty and obedience, under such circumstances, cannot be sincere, without supposing their minds of a refinement of which they are utterly incapable; and seems therefore to me to be *either mockery or folly.* Perhaps I am too presumptuous in forming this opinion, but it seems to me confirmed by recent events, and I cannot otherwise account for the fact so generally asserted by the priests of the Romish persuasion, that during the late rebellion, their exhortations to loyalty and obedience had no effect. I find it also confirmed by the circumstances, that those priests were, I presume, utterly ignorant that those under their instructions had ever conceived in their minds the horrid purposes which they manifested on the 23d of July, and which persons came from all parts of Ireland with design to effect. — I have the honour to be, &c.

REDESDALE.

Sept. 4, 1803.

MY LORD, — I must beg your lordship will be kind enough to excuse my not having sooner acknowledged the receipt of the last letter you did me the honour to address me, which has been occasioned by my absence from town for some days past. Honoured as I must feel by your lordship's correspondence, and the expressions of personal regard towards me contained in your letters, I am the more anxious to impress your lordship with that favourable opinion of the persons in this country who profess the same religious faith I do myself, which it has been my endeavour to prove to your lordship they are deserving of. Nothing but my wish to procure for them an object so desirable, and my high respect for your lordship, would have induced me to touch at all on a discussion of religious subjects: and not having been, I fear, fortunate enough yet to satisfy your lordship's mind, as to the objections you make to our religion, I should be glad, with your lordship's permission, to state them to some of our superior clergy, who would, I am pretty certain, enable me to convince your lordship, that our religious doctrine preaches charity and brotherly love to all mankind, without distinction of religion; true and sincere allegiance to our good king; inviolable attachment to the constitution and our country; from an honest and conscientious conviction that such is the duty of a good subject, and a good catholic, be the religion of the Monarch what it may. For my own part, my lord, I cannot attribute the unfortunate situation of this country to any thing connected with matters of religious faith; jacobinism and French principles and politics, the want of morality, and the depraved state of the human mind, are, I conceive, the sources of our misfortunes; religion may have been made a tool by wicked and designing people: this has often happened in every country, and is easily effected when religious differences exist. The distracted and melancholy state we are in,

every body must lament; how it is to be mended is a matter for the statesman; and surely it would be difficult to find an object more worthy of your lordship's high talents and abilities. — I have the honour to be, &c.

FINGALL.

Sept. 6, 1803.

MY LORD, — I find myself as little qualified as your lordship represents yourself to be, to discuss with the persons to whom you refer me the points you mention. I can only say, that the impression made on the minds of those of the lower orders, certainly does not correspond with the doctrines which your lordship represents to be the doctrines of the religion you profess. I have no doubt that your lordship heartily and conscientiously embraces and acts upon those doctrines; the whole tenor of your life shews that you have done so; but the whole tenor of the conduct of the lower orders of the people of the Romish persuasion shews, that such doctrines are not effectually taught to them; and if I am to judge from the writings, as well as the conduct of some of the higher orders of the laity, as well as of the clergy, I cannot believe that they are thoroughly impressed with the feelings which appear to guide your lordship's liberal and beneficent mind. — On the contrary, in many instances it appears to me, that the conduct of some high amongst the priesthood, is calculated to excite in the minds of those under their care, hatred to their protestant fellow-subjects, and disloyalty to their government. I am assured, from very high and very respectable authority, that (at least in one district) the priests who were instrumental in saving the lives of the loyalists in the late rebellion, are universally discountenanced by their superiors; and that a priest proved to have been guilty of sanctioning the murderers in 1798, transported to Botany Bay, and since pardoned by the mercy of government, has been brought back in triumph by the same superior, to what in defiance of the law he calls his parish, and there placed as a martyr, in a manner the most insulting to the feelings of the protestants; to the justice of the country; and to that government, to whose lenity he owes his redemption from the punishment due to his crimes. — It is strongly reported, that the successor to Dr. Hussey (whose disaffection was so manifest, that perhaps government consulted its disposition to lenity much more than its duty, when it permitted him to return to Ireland) is to be a man also notoriously disaffected. If the appointment is to be made in the usual manner at the recommendation of the higher order of your clergy, I cannot think that much of loyalty is to be expected from those who recommended such a man. If the authority of the See of Rome supersedes the ordinary recommendation, it must be recollected that that authority is now in the hands of France; indeed it cannot be forgotten that your whole priesthood acknowledge obedience to one who is the vassal of France, who exists as a temporal prince at least only by the permission of France, the avowed enemy of the government under which we live; under such circumstances, it cannot be believed, that any honest and conscientious means have been or will be taken by the priests of the Romish persuasion to make the lower orders of the people, composing their congregations, loyal subjects of the Protestant government of this country, — I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

REDESDALE.